Vaubuter Oaks Studio 10

Traditio A

79 = Dan
99 ~ Land of Cockagne
148 philip IV vs. friars.
159 - A + B
163 - incest (father/daughter)
168 - delay - by Roman Emperor?
235 - Vertumnus as Catholic.

ANTICHRIST IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Antichrist in the Middle Ages

A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature

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ANTICHRIST IN THE MIDDLE AGES

INTRODUCTION

Although in the past apocalypticism was of interest generally only to religious dissenters, social anarchists, and prophetic artists and poets, it has become extremely popular in modern culture and scholarship. The recent fascination is reflected in the numerous popular books and films predicting the imminent end of civilization and portraying the ominous birth of various devilish children. Newspapers delight in detailing the expectations of offshoot groups anxiously awaiting cosmic translation or the secret coming of Christ. Even a serious cultural commentator argues that the metaphor of the apocalypse is "our best model for viewing our contemporary human condition," and asks, "What other myth do we possess that is as responsive to the major cataclysms of twentieth-century life and death?"[1]

Scholars have also become interested in apocalypticism. Theologians and biblical students, spurred by archeological discoveries implying the importance of first-century apocalypticism, are turning with renewed interest to early Christian apocalyptic.[2] Literary critics analyze the apocalyptic outlook of Spenser, Milton, Blake, and Yeats. Theorists now recognize that the apocalyptic is inherent in the literary imagination. For example, Northrop Frye develops a "grammar of apocalyptic imagery" as part of his "Theory of Archetypal Meaning,"[3] while Frank Kermode emphasizes the importance of apocalypticism to the literary "sense of an ending." Kermode notes that the mid-twentieth-century notion of living near the brink of destruction is a modernization of the apocalypticism of the past—the feeling is the same, although the images have changed. Modern man imagines a nuclear holocaust rather than an Antichrist; yet "it would be childish to argue, in a discussion of how people behave under

eschatological threat, that nuclear bombs are more real and make one experience more authentic crisis-feelings than armies in the sky."[4]

Antichrist is one of the most fascinating figures of Christian apocalypticism. Unfortunately, since the Middle Ages, interpretations of Antichrist have been allegorized or have been manipulated to attack religious institutions and political opponents, and it is often difficult for twentieth-century readers to understand the medieval conception of Antichrist. On one hand, modern theologians remove the term "Antichrist" from its apocalpytic context and use it basically to suggest those elements in human nature and in Christianity that represent the failure of faith. "Antichrist" becomes a reminder that in the twentieth century the purposes of Christianity have been frustrated, that its promises have not been fulfilled, and that as organized religion it has been ineffective. "Antichrist" thus takes on a rather general, noneschatological sense, so that Nicolas Berdyaev, for example, can warn that "if men do not freely realize the Kingdom of Christ, the Kingdom of antichrist will be brought about with necessity."[5] On the other hand, since the latter Middle Ages and especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the term "Antichrist" has been used by controversialists as a synonym for the papacy and for Roman Catholicism in general. This relationship between Antichrist and Catholicism is assumed in a humorous exchange in Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, when the English Ralph rejects the advances of the Lady Pompiona, daughter of the King of Moldavia:

> Ralph: I am a knight of religious order,
> And will not wear a favor of a lady's
> That trusts in Antichrist and false traditions.
>
> Citizen: Well said, Ralph! convert her, if thou canst. (IV.ii. 38–42)

Although such a use of the term is not popular at present and apparently was already the subject of ridicule in the early seventeenth century, "Antichrist" in many contexts continues to be essentially a polemical term. It has been used to attack political op-

ponents ranging from Henry VIII and Queen Mary to Oliver Cromwell, Peter the Great, Wilhelm II, Lenin, and Hitler.

Because of these later polemical uses of the term, Antichrist and the medieval legends connected with his expected appearance in the last days are equated in the minds of many with heretical sects, radical political movements, and fanatical millenarianism. Although the connection in one sense is valid—the later medieval radical movements did draw upon the polemics of Antichrist—in another sense it is misleading, for throughout the Middle Ages, as reflected in exegesis, historical writing, literature, and art, the expected deceit and tyranny of Antichrist were important elements of conservative, orthodox Christian eschatology. This fact has often gone unrecognized, partly because scholarly studies of late medieval apocalypticism tend to emphasize its radical nature, as reflected in millenarian movements, for example. These studies, although individually very helpful, have cumulatively left a misleading impression of the nature of medieval apocalypticism. Often their purpose is to describe the medieval roots of a political and religious radicalism that blossomed in the Reformation or even in later revolutionary movements. Sometimes their purpose is also to help scholars better understand the nature of millenarianism itself, as an abstraction separate from historical contexts, for example, in the work of scholars studying comparative religions and the psychology of millenarianism. These studies are interested in the Middle Ages and in its conception of Antichrist primarily as an influence on, or an illustration of, a nonmedieval religious, political, or cultural phenomenon. The emphasis, therefore, is upon such figures as Joachim of Fiore, Arnold of Villanova, John Wyclif, John Ball, John Huss, and other "visionaries," "heretics," "revolutionaries," and "reformers"—an emphasis upon what Melvin Lasky calls "the whole naïve revolutionary eschatology of the later Middle Ages."[6] Historians often analyze the political, social, and economic conditions creating revolutionary movements, whereas the sociologist and anthropologist may describe the "relative deprivation," "disaster mentality," and "messiah mechanism" influencing millenarianism.[7] As a result, the theo-

logical distinctions between premillenialism and postmillenialism may be lost or minimized, and the Christian expectation of Antichrist and the apocalypse described as a fantasy.

It is not the purpose of this study to discount the value of a comparative study of millenarian movements nor to deny the great influence of Joachim of Fiore (ca. 1135–1202) and others upon late medieval apocalypticism and even upon modern revolutionary movements. Such influence is clearly traced in the comprehensive studies of Marjorie Reeves and others.[8] However, the radical millenarianism and Joachim's eschatology were emphatically not typical of the medieval view of Antichrist, and even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when millenarian movements became more significant and Joachimist thought was manipulated for radical purposes, the traditional, conservative, patristic treatment of Antichrist remained influential. Because of their interest in postmedieval movements and in essentially nonreligious social and political phenomena, scholars have concentrated on the radical elements of the later Middle Ages and have ignored the more typical medieval understanding of Antichrist. Even in such a careful study as Christopher Hill's *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England*, which traces the English Protestant manipulation of the term "Antichrist," the brief statement concerning the medieval view of Antichrist is greatly misleading: "The identification of the Pope with Antichrist had a long history. I hope I may be forgiven for passing lightly over the first fifteen hundred years of it. There are books on the subject. But Antichrist did not figure only in scholarly and theological treatises in the Middle Ages. He appeared in the German *Play of Antichrist* (c. 1160), in the fourteenth-century Chester Miracle Plays, the Northumbrian *Cursor Mundi* and Langland's *Piers Plowman. . . .*"[9] Although Hill does not claim that in the Middle Ages Antichrist was always identified with the pope, his "fifteen hundred years" suggests that such an identification was typical, his reference to a variety of medieval literature supports this suggestion, and his comment in a following paragraph underscores the misimpression: "But those who most regularly and consistently equated the Pope or the papacy with Antichrist were

the heretics. . . ." Yet, as this book seeks to show, the medieval view did not equate Antichrist with the pope, and the German *Play of Antichrist* (the *Ludus de Antichristo*), the Chester *Prophets of Antichrist* and *Coming of Antichrist*, the *Cursor Mundi*, and *Piers Plowman* followed the traditional medieval understanding and did not identify Antichrist with the papacy.

Of course, it would be misleading to suggest that in the Middle Ages the understanding of Antichrist and of his apocalyptic role was always consistent, straightforward, and orthodox. In fact, this study will show that the medieval Antichrist tradition was very complex, that it varied from author to author in many details, that it developed from many sources, and that it included unorthodox elements. Nevertheless, it is possible to describe a standard and widely accepted understanding of Antichrist—who he is, when he will appear, what he will do, and what will become of him. This understanding was organized into a "life" of Antichrist in the tenth century and then developed, modified, and repeated throughout the later Middle Ages. It was based on interpretations of the apocalyptic scriptural texts, on sibylline prophecies and popular expectations. Even considering all the details and the legends connected with the tradition, the medieval view was relatively consistent in the following important aspects: Antichrist will be a single human, a man with devilish connections who will come near the end of the world to persecute Christians and to mislead them by claiming that he is Christ, he will be opposed by Enoch and Elias, whom he will kill, and will finally be destroyed by Christ or his agent. This interpretation, here much simplified, is what is known as the "medieval Antichrist" and is the subject of this study.[10]

In the thirteenth and especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a radically different view of Antichrist developed that identified him with a specific pope or political figure or with other opponents of the particular writer, heretic, or reformer. This view of Antichrist ultimately prevailed in the sixteenth century with the Protestants, who came to identify the entire Roman Catholic church with Antichrist. However, the traditional medieval understanding of Antichrist, which this

book sets forth, continued to be influential into the Renaissance. That such is the case is evident in the fact that Protestant polemicists often felt it necessary to attack the medieval interpretation. John Jewel (1522-71) in his *Exposition upon the Two Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians*, notes that "there is none, neither old nor young, neither learned nor unlearned, but he hath heard of antichrist." He argues that many are deceived concerning the identity of Antichrist, because in the past the religious have "devised many sundry fond tales of the person of antichrist" in order to mislead:

> Some say he should be a Jew of the tribe of Dan; some, that he should be born in Babylon; some, that he should be bred up in Bethsaida and Corazin; some, that he should rise up in Syria; some, that Mahomet is antichrist; some, that he should overthrow Rome; some, that he should build up the city of Hierusalem; some, that Nero was antichrist; some, that he should be born of a friar and a nun; some, that he should continue but three years and a half; some, that he should turn trees upside down, with the tops in the ground, and should force the roots to grow upward, and then should flee up into heaven, and fall down and break his neck. These tales have been craftily devised to beguile our eyes, that, whilst we think upon these guesses, and so occupy ourselves in beholding a shadow or probable conjecture of antichrist, he which is antichrist indeed may unawares deceive us.[11]

To Jewel, of course, Antichrist is the papacy. But his ridicule of the "fond tales" describes many details of the medieval Antichrist tradition and suggests its influence into the sixteenth century.

The objective of this study, then, is to define and describe the popular view of Antichrist developed and best known throughout the Middle Ages in order to better understand medieval apocalypticism in general and particularly the art and literature of the Middle Ages that treats the Antichrist tradition. Although concerned with the scriptural sources and the commentaries of the early church, the study concentrates upon the Middle Ages, describing the Reformation view in the conclusion only as a final

means of further defining the medieval interpretation. Although aware of historical and sociological analyses, the study emphasizes the theological understanding of Antichrist, its importance to Christian eschatology, and its cultural manifestations. The first chapter is the most theoretical. It seeks to discover how Antichrist, who is briefly mentioned only in 1 and 2 John, became one of the most important figures in medieval Christian apocalypticism. It briefly characterizes the apocalyptic outlook and its universal and dualistic understanding of history, and also shows how Christian exegetes discovered throughout scripture numerous figures representing Antichrist, identified as the leader of the false church of the devil and the key member of an "antitrinity" of evil. The second chapter describes the theology of Antichrist. It surveys the major sources for the traditional interpretations of Antichrist in the Middle Ages and analyzes eschatological and millenarian expectations. It also traces the origins of the polemical manipulations of Antichrist theology and argues that, although they became popular in the later Middle Ages, the conservative exegetical interpretation of Antichrist also remained influential.

The third chapter describes the "life" of Antichrist. It resembles the medieval *vitae* that trace Antichrist's career from birth to death. It also organizes the varying features of the legend and attempts to order the medieval notion of last-day events, which include such diverse beliefs as the cosmic signs of the end, the rule of a messianic emperor, the unleashing of Gog and Magog, the reappearance of the Old Testament figures Enoch and Elias, and the conversion of the Jews. The fourth and fifth chapters then apply the medieval understanding of Antichrist described in the first three chapters to medieval art and literature. Chapter 4 studies the illustration of Antichrist's symbols and types in manuscripts and then describes the artistic portrayal of the numerous features associated with Antichrist. The fifth chapter describes the wide variety of literature presenting the Antichrist tradition. It studies Antichrist's role in didactic poetry, homilies, chronicles, plays, romances, and dream visions. It not only surveys the literature, but also concentrates on a few major works

that take on new meaning when studied within their apocalyptic context. The works chosen are representative of medieval literature; many others could similarly be profitably analyzed within the context of the Antichrist tradition. Finally, the conclusion notes how Protestant interpretations of many of the same apocalyptic texts on which the medieval view of Antichrist is based conflict with earlier exegesis, yet how the medieval view continued to be argued by Catholic theologians and presented in art and literature through the sixteenth century. The Protestant identification of Antichrist with the papacy and Roman Catholicism is analyzed and its influence on the art and literature of the Reformation described in order to once again make clear the differences between the medieval and Reformation interpretations of Antichrist.

This book is indebted to the scholarship of many others working in a variety of disciplines and is intended to be an interdisciplinary contribution in medieval studies. It is based on the premise that medieval theology, art, and literature should be studied in conjunction with one another. It analyzes theological treatises, commentaries, illuminated manuscripts, sermons, histories, poems, and plays in order to determine the understanding of a popular apocalyptic expectation in the Middle Ages. It is intended, however, as more than a mere handbook on the medieval Antichrist: It should also help us in the twentieth century better understand the richness and complexity of the medieval world.

CHAPTER 1

Antichrist and Medieval Apocalypticism

Antichrist, the great persecutor of the church and the leader of the forces of evil in the last days, was a central figure in medieval apocalypticism. In the Middle Ages, certainty of his coming during the final crisis of the church was reflected in theological studies, artistic illustrations of apocalyptic imagery, and numerous poems, plays, romances, histories, and sermons. In the later Middle Ages, stories and predictions of Antichrist and opinions concerning his signs, deceits, and persecution of the church circulated so freely and widely that Antichrist became one of the most important figures of medieval apocalyptic thought. Apocalyptic symbolism was sometimes read in terms of contemporary events. Radical millenarianism flared up at moments of social unrest and religious uncertainty, and popular apocalyptic fervor, usually lashing out at despised minorities or attacking political and religious enemies, attempted to establish the New Jerusalem on earth. Because this apocalypticism was often associated with predictions of the imminent destruction of the world, the signs and terrors of the last days, the unleashing of barbaric armies, the return of Old Testament prophets to convert the Jews to Christianity, the expectations of messianic kings, and the ushering in of the millennium, it may appear to modern readers as a curious blend of naïve legendary eschatology and popular wishful thinking. Yet medieval apocalypticism and belief in Antichrist resulted from serious theological and exegetical interpretations of the obscure language of the biblical apocalypses. They were the products of intellectural, rather than naïve or opportunistic, endeavor.

Although it may be true, as Jonathan Swift remarks, that some commentators on the Apocalypse "proceed prophets without

understanding a syllable of the text" (*A Tale of a Tub*, II), medieval commentators were basically conservative, following an exegetical system that cautiously interpreted the sometimes difficult and obscure biblical texts. Theologians and exegetes could not ignore the apocalyptic passages of scripture. The fact is that medieval Christians considered it necessary to understand the events of the last days, events that they believed Christ detailed in the gospels (in the "Little Apocalypse" of Mark 13) and Daniel and John the Revelator foresaw in their prophecies.[1] The "last things" were crucial. The following verses, a prologue to a medieval Apocalypse manuscript, best express the importance of understanding the events of the end of the world, the purpose of apocalyptic exegesis:

> Who redes þis boke of ymagerie,
> Hit will hom counfort & make redie,
> And vndistonde hor witte to clere,
> By þes beestis purtreyed here;
> And ful knowyng of mykel treuth.
> Þat now is hidde, hit is grete reuth;
> What þei by-meenen in hor kynde,
> Waytnas þo gloose & ȝe shal fynde
> Hit is as hey þat wil vnloken
> Þo dore þat is ful faste stoken;
> Þis keye were gode men to fynde,
> To make hom se þat now ben blynde;
> God gif vs grace þat sight to haue,
> To reule vs riȝt we may be saue.[2]

Apocalypticism and the Christian View of History

Apocalypticism is basic to Christianity, although it has not been until recently that modern theologians and historians of doctrine have carefully analyzed the apocalyptic roots of Christianity. Not all theologians agree with Ernst Käsemann that the apocalyptic "was the mother of all Christian theology," but many theologians today are turning with renewed interest to the study of apocalypticism.[3] Jaroslav Pelikan argues, for example, that since the early church had "a fervid vision of the Son of Man

breaking the power of demons and ushering in the new aeon with divine judgment and mercy," Christian beliefs "must be understood in this apocalyptic context."[4]

Apocalypticism probably developed from Old Testament prophecy and grew in a time of crisis when the Jews were ruled by foreign, secular powers that trampled the sacred.[5] For example, Antiochus IV, "Ephiphanes," a figure important in medieval interpretations of Antichrist, as king of Syria (175–163 B.C.) forbade the practices of Judaism and converted the Temple in Jerusalem into a temple of Zeus. The apocalyptic writer asks, "How can God allow this to happen to his chosen people?" He answers by portraying the enemies of Judaism not only as political enemies, but also as agents of evil, representatives of Satan on this earth. The apocalyptic outlook is pessimistic, for it views these enemies as all powerful—they cannot be defeated by human action. On the other hand, the outlook is optimistic, for it foresees a final judgment that is unalterable, when the supernatural will intervene and the righteous will triumph. This outlook is particularly well suited to a time of crisis when, as H. H. Rowley notes, "men, with an exaggerated perspective of their own day" interpret prophecies to apply to their own conditions.[6] It is not surprising that some medieval exegetes, under a new sense of crisis, again reinterpreted the apocalyptic symbols and concluded with considerable urgency that the promised day of judgment was at hand.

Thus in the Middle Ages, apocalypticism was closely related to eschatology. Of course, the two should not be confused. Eschatology is the doctrine of the "last things," whereas apocalypticism involves an unveiling of the "divine secrets which God made known to certain elect individuals . . . initiated into an understanding of the secrets of heaven. . . ."[7] Apocalypticism is essentially secretive; it develops strange and fantastic symbols that are a special language for the initiated. However, because the "divine secrets" often concern the "last things"—because the apocalyptic texts are filled with eschatology—the writers of the early church, although troubled by the secrecy, were not discouraged from interpreting the apocalyptic visions. For example, al-

though Hippolytus (ca. 170–235) writes as if he were communicating secret information to be spoken only with fear, he provides one of the best early studies of Antichrist.[8] Augustine (354–430) admits great uncertainty concerning the "mystery of iniquity" of 2 Thessalonians 2:7, yet he nevertheless offers an interpretation.[9] The Middle Ages showed much interest in analyzing the events of the last days to explain their meaning, which lay hidden just below the surface of the apocalyptic texts, and the serious nature of these interpretative attempts is best illustrated by a letter Roger Bacon (ca. 1219–94) addressed to Pope Clement IV in 1267. By further studying the apocalyptic texts, along with astrology and other prophetic writings (such as the Sibyllines), the church, Bacon claims, "would without doubt be able to provide usefully against the coming of Antichrist."[10]

Apocalypticism includes more than the last things. It sets eschatology in a historical context; it looks backward to the beginning of history as well as forward to the end of history. It posits a unified and dualistic view of history that envisions man and the agents of evil deterministically working out God's purpose. This view of history traces the great controversy between the forces of good and evil from the rebellion of Lucifer to the final judgment, when Satan and his supporters are totally defeated. According to Käsemann, apocalypticism "first made historical thinking possible within the realm of Christianity."[11] And the Christian understanding of history is certainly apocalyptic. It sees events in history as ordered in a linear, rather than a cyclical, pattern.[12] To the Christian, history has a beginning, when Christ the Word created the world (John 1:1–3), time, and thus history, and a conclusion, when Christ the Judge will examine his creation, ending time and history. The events in between are in this way framed by the activity of Christ. Even though to man they may appear to be random and haphazard, these events are purposeful and controlled by God. History particularly reflects God's dealing with mankind, the intervention of eternity in time. God's interventions may be by supernatural force (the Flood, for example, or the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the parting of the Red Sea, or the visitation of plagues in the later Mid-

dle Ages), or God may employ human agents to further his will (as he did when Babylon carried Israel into captivity, Titus destroyed Jerusalem, or the Vandals plundered Rome). But the Incarnation of Christ is the most important intervention of the divine into human history. The birth of Christ became in medieval history the central event that gave previous events significance and provided future events with direction. Medieval chronology, especially after Bede (ca. 673–735), divides history between the time before and the time after Christ. History also reflects the gradual revelation of God to man, divided in the Christian scriptures between the Old Testament and the New Testament and also in the Pauline periods of natural law, written law, and grace. These periods are again marked by significant events—the Fall of Man, the Law given to Moses on Sinai, and the Incarnation. Rather than seeing history as cyclical, as having no beginning or end in which events ultimately repeat themselves, Christians see history as a line drawn from Creation to Doomsday and each event along that line as unique. The best example of a unique event, one that has not happened before nor ever will again, is the Incarnation of the Son of God.

This view of history is, as M. H. Abrams terms it, "right-angled: the key events are abrupt, cataclysmic, and make a drastic, even an absolute, difference."[13] These events enable the apocalyptic writer to divide history into meaningful periods and epochs. The object is to systematize, organize, and thus understand history. And history can help explain itself. Although all events are unique, they can, because of God's providential control, foreshadow future events or reflect past experiences. Thus history contains types and antitypes and is ordered according to numerical patterns. Such an assumption lies behind the comparisons of the Avignon Papacy in the fourteenth century to the Babylonian Captivity of Israel under Nebuchadnezzar; similarly, it lies behind the prophecy in the apocryphal "Pseudo-Titus Epistle" that as the Jews spent seventy years in Babylon in anguish, "so a period of seven years is (now) appointed under Antichrist."[14] The numerical patterns highlight the similarities between past and present, encouraging writers to predict the fu-

ture. For example, the historian Paulus Orosius (ca. 380–ca.420) compares the ten plagues in Egypt preceding the Exodus with the ten persecutions of Christians by pagans. Noting that the Egyptians pursued Israel, Orosius also expects that "alas a persecution by the Gentiles [pagans] at some future time awaits us while we are journeying in freedom. . . ." But as the Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea, so certainly "all those enemies of Christ, together with their king, Antichrist, will be caught in the lake of eternal fire. . . ."[15]

This certainty that a final time of persecution will precede the end of the world is yet another reflection of the apocalyptic origins of the Christian view of history. Like the apocalyptic writers, historians viewed the course of history as both optimistic and pessimistic. It is optimistic since it is controlled by God and ultimately leads to the reward of the righteous; it is pessimistic in that it expects constant persecutions by the wicked and the appearance of one last terrible persecutor, Antichrist. This outlook is found throughout medieval histories and again is best illustrated by Orosius. In the dedication of his *History Against the Pagans* to Augustine, he can optimistically describe how Christianity even now triumphs over paganism, and yet predict that "at the end of the world when Antichrist shall appear," then "there shall be distress such as there never was before. . . ."[16]

Perhaps the best example of the Christian use of numerical patterns to systematize history is the medieval belief that the six days of Creation correspond to six ages of world history. The theory of the six ages is a perfect example of how the Christian interpretation of history encourages commentators to find types and prophecies of the very end of the world in the Old Testament descriptions of the very beginning of the world. It is based on the description of Creation week in Genesis 1 and 2. The six days of Creation delineate historical epochs—periods of time within history—whereas the seventh day, the Sabbath when the Creator rested, symbolizes human rest beyond historical time. Commentators quote 2 Peter 3:8 ("one day with the Lord is like a thousand years, and a thousand years is like one day") to support the notion that world history consists of six ages, each of

approximately a thousand years. Augustine follows a pattern of biblical generations by dividing these ages according to key scriptural events and the lives of significant characters. The first age corresponds to the time from Adam to the Flood (ten generations; see Gen. 5); the second, from the Flood to Abraham (ten generations; see Gen. 11); the third, from Abraham to David; the fourth, from David to the Babylonian Captivity; and the fifth, from the Captivity to Christ (each fourteen generations; see Matt. 1:1–17). The sixth age, then, begins with the birth of Christ and corresponds to the present.[17]

This scheme of history is followed by Isidore (ca. 560–636) in the chronology of his *Etymologiae*, and, although sometimes modified to include Moses as instituting the fourth age, became the major pattern outlined by historians and theologians throughout much of the Middle Ages. For example, Bonaventure (1221–74) compares the ages of the world with the stages of man: the first age resembles infancy; the second, childhood; the third, adolescence; the fourth, youth; the fifth, decline; and the sixth, old age.[18] Christians thus live during the earth's period of old age, which lasts until Doomsday. And just as man in old age matures and becomes wise, so the earth in its sixth age received wisdom—Christ.

Bede provides the most elaborate explanation of the theory of the six ages of world history. He notes that as each of the days of Creation had a morning and an evening, so also does each age (see Table 1).[19] Although Bede's scheme differs in some particulars from Augustine's, what is significant about Bede's interpretation of the six ages is that he envisions each as having a period of good and evil, a pattern in the ages from Creation to the last days. The sixth follows this pattern and in a sense recapitulates the first five ages. The sixth age, for example, begins with Christ, the "Second Adam" (Rom. 5:14), and ends with Antichrist, "the man of sin, the son of iniquity" (2 Thess. 2:3), who is typified by Antiochus Epiphanes, the man of evil who concludes the fifth age. As later commentators and historians came to emphasize the sixth age—a natural emphasis since it is the age of the church and of all Christians—they followed Bede in placing

TABLE 1

Age	"Morning"	"Evening"
First	Man in Paradise	The Fall; the world in sin
Second	The faithful patriarchs	The Flood; the confusion of language at Babel
Third	Abraham, Moses, Promised Land	The early kingdom; Saul
Fourth	Glory of David and Solomon	Babylonian Captivity
Fifth	Return; rebuilding of Temple	Antiochus; subjugation by Rome
Sixth	The Incarnation	Antichrist; the evils of the last days

Antichrist at the conclusion of the sixth age.

At first exegetes were reluctant to further subdivide the sixth age into particular periods of history. After all, the age represents the era of the church lasting until Christ's Second Coming—a period unified by Christianity. However, with the passage of the centuries, theologians and historians identified various periods within church history and so developed their treatment of the sixth age in greater detail. These periods were organized according to a numerical pattern based on scripture that explained the past while once again emphasizing Antichrist's major role in the future eschatological crisis. The pattern is discovered in Apocalypse 6:1–8:5, the description of the opening of the seven seals. Exegetes interpreted the seals as a prophetic outline of church history since the apostles. Their interpretations were allegorical at first rather than historical. Whereas the theory of the six ages based on Creation week delineates events re-

corded in scripture almost exclusively, interpretations of the seven seals must attempt to explain events taking place since the close of scripture. As a result, the periods of the sixth age are less noted for historical events and dates than for particular characteristics (hypocrisy, heresy) and general trends—the "experience" of the church since the New Testament. These experiences took place in the past, but also may, in the lives of individual Christians, be taking place in the present. The periods of the sixth age, then, may be understood as happening both sequentially and simultaneously. In the twelfth century, explanations of the seven seals became very important to such commentators as Rupert of Deutz (ca. 1075–1129) and Richard of Saint Victor (d. 1173), who interpreted the Apocalypse as a linear, historical narrative outlining church history.[20]

Anselm of Havelburg (d. 1158) set forth the basic interpretation, which was later developed by Joachim of Fiore and Protestant polemicists such as John Bale (1495–1563).[21] According to Anselm, the first seal represents the purity of the apostolic church; the second, the persecution under the pagan emperors (from Nero to Constantine); the third, the major heresies (after Constantine); and the fourth, the age of false Christians and hypocrites. The fifth seal is not placed chronologically, but represents martyred Christians in all ages. Significantly, the sixth seal represents the time of Antichrist and the end of the world, which precedes the heavenly bliss signified by the seventh seal.[22] Antichrist is interpreted once again as bringing human history to a close. As Christ opens the sixth age (at the time of the first seal), so Antichrist closes the sixth age (at the time of the sixth seal). Antichrist is therefore a key character in the Christian understanding of history. He represents the antithesis of Christ at the end of the world; he is the terrible leader of evil, the most powerful in a long history of wicked persecutors of the righteous.

The peculiar fascination that medieval Christians felt for the figure of Antichrist is probably due to his effective parody of Christ. Antichrist, the "son of the devil," deceptively imitates Christ, the Son of God. The medieval "lives" of Antichrist (see

chapter 3) often compare Antichrist's life to the life of Christ. Antichrist comes from the Jews, has a supernatural origin, and (according to some commentators) is born of a virgin. His appearance is preceded by signs. He preaches a new law and sends forth disciples who gather the people to worship him. He journeys to Jerusalem, where he is hailed as the Messiah; he performs numerous miracles and can even raise the dead. His public life lasts three and one-half years. He then pretends to die and rise from the dead in three days. In his last act he prepares to ascend to heaven from the Mount of Olives. Since Christ is the center of all biblical and Christian symbolism, Antichrist's effectiveness as an apocalyptic image certainly is related to his complete degradation of, and hostility to, the figure of Christ. The medieval tradition basically portrayed Antichrist as a diabolical parody of Christ, as an actual physical figure who will appear in human form at a climactic point in history to lead the forces of evil.

Medieval exegetes also discuss Antichrist as the head of the body of the devil on earth. As such, he is in continual conflict with the church, the body of Christ on earth. As Christ is the head of the church, Antichrist is the head of evil. He is the "caput iniquorum," the "caput reproborum," and the "caput omnium malorum." Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) explains, for example, that Antichrist is the head of evil, not because he precedes evil, nor because he influences it, but because he is the culmination of evil ("malitiae perfectionem").[23] As Christ's body is made up of the prophets, apostles, martyrs, saints, and doctors, Antichrist heads a body made up of pagans, unbelievers, false Christians, and all evil ecclesiastics. In contrast to the true "ecclesia," Antichrist's false church is called "sinagoga" or "tabernaculum." Beatus of Liebana (d. 798) states that it is made up of the devil, Antichrist, the beast, and the dragon: "All are members of one body." Gregory the Great (540–604) identifies the members with Cain, Judas, and Simon Magus.[24] These symbols and biblical characters—the beast, the dragon, Cain, Judas, Simon Magus, and others—became, in medieval apocalyptic interpretations, figural representatives of Antichrist.

The Figures of Antichrist

The Antichrist tradition developed largely because exegetes associated many of the "opponents" of God described in the Old and New Testaments with Antichrist. Commentators usually discuss the significance of the various opponents, explaining the relationship between the biblical symbol or type and the activities of Antichrist. For example, the little horn of Daniel 7:7–8 has been widely understood as a symbol of Antichrist, either directly or by comparison with Antiochus Epiphanes, a historical type of Antichrist. The two great beasts of Job, Leviathan and Behemoth, have also become symbols of Antichrist and the devil, an interpretation established by the influential *Moralia* of Gregory and illustrated in later medieval manuscripts (see figure 1).[25] Exegetes emphasized these figures and their opposition to God's law and people, often commenting in detail on the relationship between the particular symbol's actions and Antichrist's.

However, sometimes they also merely identify a specific symbol as representing Antichrist and assume that the relationship will be understood. Figures of Antichrist are found throughout the Bible and were interpreted so widely that they became conventional. For example, the "son of perdition and the mystery of iniquity" of 2 Thessalonians 2 were from the earliest Middle Ages interpreted as symbols of Antichrist. Tertullian (ca. 160–220) identifies the symbol as Antichrist when he quotes 2 Thessalonians 2:3 in his *De carnis resurrectione*: "Et reveletur delinquentiae homo, id est antichristus, filius perditionis. . . ."[26] This assumed identification of Antichrist was common in the Middle Ages and is usually emphasized by *id est, videlicet, scilicet,* or the apposition of the symbol and "Antichristus." It is often found in the *Glossa ordinaria*, the great compendium of medieval exegesis, from which it passed into the later tradition and into the vernacular Bibles and commentaries. For example, a late fourteenth-century translation of the Pauline epistles simply translates the "et nunc revelabitur ille iniquus" of 2 Thessalonians 2:8 as "and þanne schal be schewid he þat wickid antichrist. . . ."[27] No commentary or explanation is necessary, for the inter-

pretation is long established and conventional. Although mentioned by name only in 1 and 2 John, Antichrist came to thoroughly populate the vernacular Bibles.

The Apocalypse provided the most fertile ground for exegetes searching for symbols of Antichrist. The book is filled with marvelous creatures rising out of the earth, the sea, the abyss—creatures that are multiheaded, composites of various animals, sometimes anthropomorphic. All battle against the saints, and all are destroyed ultimately by the returning Savior. To the medieval commentator, the locustlike beasts of Apocalypse 9 represent either Antichrist or his forerunners and disciples, whereas the beast that rises from the abyss (Apoc. 11:7) is quite consistently interpreted as a symbol of Antichrist who will attack the two witnesses (Apoc. 11:3).[28] Although the dragon of Apocalypse 12 that vexes the woman clothed in the sun is sometimes identified as Antichrist, to most medieval commentators it symbolizes the devil, since it is so identified in verse 9: "And that great dragon was cast out, the ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan. . . ." However, the seventh head of the dragon and its tail, which sweeps a third of the stars from heaven, are often identified with Antichrist, the seventh and last great representative of the devil, who attacks the church in the last days. Berengaudus summarizes a long tradition: "Indeed, the seventh head of the devil is Antichrist. . . . And by the tail, which is the end of the body, Antichrist is designated."[29]

The seven-headed beast that rises out of the sea (Apoc. 13:1) is the symbol most consistently identified with Antichrist in the medieval exegetical tradition. The numerous commentaries on Apocalypse 13 confidently identify the beast as Antichrist, although interpretations of the beast's features and its relationship to the other creatures of the chapter vary. Apocalypse 13 is a difficult chapter, for in addition to the seven-headed beast (verse 1) it includes several other symbols: the head of the beast that recovers from a death wound (verse 3), the dragon that all worship because it gives authority to the sea beast (verse 4), and a two-horned beast that comes out of the earth and speaks like the dragon (verse 11). Sometimes the identifications of these

symbols vary depending on context and the commentator's purpose. Sometimes the identifications are contradictory. Both the beast of verse 1 and the head of verse 3 may symbolize Antichrist, or both the beast and the dragon may symbolize the devil. Usually, however, the exegete is able to develop a consistent system. Berengaudus, for example, identifies the beast from the sea with Antichrist, its seven heads with the deadly sins, the head that recovers from a death wound with Antichrist's blasphemy, the dragon with the devil, the two-horned beast from the earth with the disciples of Antichrist who will preach deceit and perform miracles in the last days.[30] Berengaudus' interpretation is typical of allegorical handlings of apocalyptic symbolism. A less elaborate allegorical interpretation is that of the interlinear commentary of the *Glossa ordinaria*, which identifies both the beast from the sea and the head that recovers from the wound with Antichrist, the dragon with the devil, and the beast from the earth with the power of Antichrist.[31]

The various creatures of Apocalypse 13 are symbolically brought together again in Apocalypse 16:13: "And I saw from the mouth of the dragon and from the mouth of the beast and from the mouth of the false prophet come three unclean spirits like frogs." Medieval commentators interpret the dragon to be Satan, the beast to be Antichrist (the seven-headed beast), the false prophet (the beast from the earth) to be the messengers and disciples of Antichrist. Throughout the commentaries, each creature plays a set role: The dragon/Satan gives power and authority and is worshiped in return; the seven-headed beast/Antichrist teaches false doctrine, persecutes the church, and is in turn worshiped by false Christians; the two-horned beast/false prophet leads people to worship the beast from the sea by false preaching and miracles. Although three separate creatures, they represent a unity of evil. Furthermore, they can be substituted one for another. Symbolically, all three can be seen as Antichrist: "For Antichrist is called the dragon because of the strength and success of deception; and he is called the beast because of cruelty; and he is also called the false prophet because he pretends to be Christ."[32] They also form a trinity of

evil in which Satan becomes "the god of this world" (2 Cor. 4:4) and Antichrist the false Christ. The parodic trinity, especially clear in the terminology and actions of each creature, is emphasized in commentaries on the miracles of the two-horned beast/false prophet. Imitating Christ's sending of the Holy Spirit, he will make fire descend from heaven (Apoc. 13:13) in a parodic Pentecost that is actually an "evil spirit" deceptively resembling the Holy Spirit.[33] The dualism that marks medieval apocalypticism and interpretations of Antichrist led to an identification of an apocalyptic antitrinity (see Table 2):

TABLE 2

The Trinity	The Symbols and the Antitrinity
God the Father	Dragon/Satan (god of this world)
God the Son	Seven-headed Beast/Antichrist (son of the devil)
God the Holy Spirit	Two-horned Beast/False Prophet (spirit of evil)

In addition to identifying these scriptural symbols as representing Antichrist, medieval commentators also developed a typology of Antichrist. The typological reading of the Bible is evident in Paul's approach to the Old Testament (1 Cor. 10:11) and in the interpretations of early Christian commentators, such as Tertullian. Typology, unlike some allegory, does not deny the historical validity of the original text. The character or event of the Old Testament is more than an *integumentum* of the true referent of the New Testament. As Erich Auerbach points out, the "*figura* is something real and historical which announces something else that is real and historical."[34] Although the beast as *symbol* of Antichrist is neither physically real nor historical, Antiochus Epiphanes is both a physically real and historical type of the awaited physically real and historical Antichrist. "Type" and

"symbol" of Antichrist are separately distinguished not primarily to argue a distinction between typology and allegory, however, but to emphasize two important kinds of scriptural sources for the tradition. Exegetes identify Antichrist not only with symbols of evil representing the continuing conflict between good and evil, but also with historical figures who in the past were in opposition to Christ, his people, and his church. Furthermore, medieval exegetes recognize the interrelationship between the symbols and types. The symbols may refer both to types of Antichrist and to Antichrist himself. In medieval interpretations the little horn of Daniel 7:7–8 symbolizes both Antichrist and Antiochus Epiphanes, a historical type of Antichrist.[35] Even though Berengaudus makes use of allegory, interpretations of the Antichrist tradition seldom are allegorical in the sense of medieval interpretations of Luke 10:38, where Christ's entering a town becomes an allegory of the Incarnation. The type of Antichrist exists in its own right, but since history is systematic, universal, and ordained by God, the type also serves to prefigure Antichrist.

As sacred history contains numerous types of Christ—Adam, Abel, Melchizedek, Isaac, David, Solomon—so it also contains numerous types of Antichrist. The exegete is conscious of the typological reading, often comparing the types of Christ with types of Antichrist. For example, Jerome (ca. 345–419) clearly refers to the typological reading in his commentary on Daniel: "Therefore, as the Savior has both Solomon and other saints as types of his coming, so Antichrist is to be understood to have as a type of himself the most wicked king Antiochus, who persecuted the saints and violated the temple."[36] The comparisons continue in the later Middle Ages. Applying the typology broadly in his brief discussion of Antichrist, Thomas Aquinas states that all evil characters who precede Antichrist are figures of Antichrist.[37] The types of Antichrist are also compared directly to the types of Christ in the text of an illustration of the dragon/devil of Apocalypse 12, one of the *figurae* reflecting Joachim of Fiore's interpretation of the seventh head and the tail of the dragon: "Just as many pious kings or priests or prophets preceded one

Christ, who was king and priest and prophet, so many impious kings and false prophets and Antichrists precede one Antichrist, who will pretend to be king and priest and prophet."[38] Here the symbols represent both Antichrist and his types.

Although the types of Christ are restricted to Old Testament characters, commentators identify types of Antichrist in both the Old and the New Testaments and even in later church history, since the full revelation of Antichrist is not to take place until the end of the world. Thus Assyria, Assur, Holofernes, Abimelech, Doeg Idumaeus, Amalech, Nebuchadnezzar, and Antiochus Epiphanes of the Old Testament, Herod, Barabbas, and Simon Magus of the New Testament, and Nero, Diocletian, Domitian, and Julian of early church history are considered types of Antichrist. The background for these identifications is usually clearly explained. Assyria, Assur, Amalech, and Holofernes were opponents of God who fought against his people. Abimelech, the son of Gideon born of a concubine (Judges 8, 9), killed his seventy brothers. Rabanus Maurus (ca. 776–856) identifies him as a type of Antichrist and Jotham, the surviving youngest brother, who condemned Abimelech, as a type of Elias, who, as one of the witnesses, will preach against Antichrist in the last days.[39]

Doeg Idumaeus, the enemy of David mentioned in the introduction of Psalm 51, is identified with Antichrist by Cassiodorus (ca. 477–ca. 570). Responsible for the death of eighty-five priests (1 Samuel 22:7–23), Doeg, whose name in the Middle Ages is interpreted to mean "motus terrenos," became the type of Antichrist's persecution of the church in the last days. Basing his interpretation on the typological identification of David with Christ, Peter Lombard (1095–1160) identifies the enemies Doeg and Saul (who orders Doeg to kill the eighty-five priests) with Antichrist and the devil. Ahimelech, the priest who aided David (Christ), represents the church.[40] The typological reading, interestingly, establishes the same relationship between the devil and Antichrist as that portrayed in Apocalypse 13 between the dragon and the seven-headed beast. The Old Testament psalm is thus given an apocalyptic interpretation based on the typology of Christ and Antichrist.

The New Testament and early church types of Antichrist include further famous opponents of God and his church. Judas, the great hypocrite and traitor, symbolizes Antichrist's hostility to Christ in the last days. Barabbas is a type of Antichrist because he—a man of evil—was chosen as a substitute for Christ (Mark 15:6–15). As Isidore of Seville explains, Barabbas signifies the false Christ because the Jews preferred him to Christ.[41] And since in the last days the Jews will once again reject Christ and follow Antichrist, their acceptance of Barabbas is filled with eschatological significance. Other figures represent Antichrist because their deeds resemble those expected of the deceiver in the last days. For example, Diocletian, Domitian, and Julian are types of the final persecution of the church "in tempore Antichristi."

Simon Magus, the magician of Acts 8:9–13, 18–24, prefigures Antichrist because he performed wonders and sings inspired by the devil to deceive the apostolic church.[42] He became a famous type of Antichrist, although often the subject of his own legend; he plays a prominent role in the stories of Nero's cruelty and in the passions of Peter and Paul. He is often identified as the false prophet who, as the true prophets prepare the way for Christ, prepares the way for Antichrist. The *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* (as revised in the fourth century) compare Simon Magus to Cain and contrast him with Abel and Peter. Again, apocalyptic dualism is evident, for this contrast is just one of the many pairs of opposites in the world: heaven/earth, day/night, life/death, prophets of eternity (true)/prophets of this world (false). Referring to Matthew 24:24, *Pseudo-Clementine Homily 2* states that before the true prophet comes, the imposter will send a false prophet (Simon Magus): "And thereafter in the end Antichrist must first come again and only afterwards must Jesus, our actual Christ, appear and then, with the rising of eternal light, everything that belongs to darkness must disappear."[43] In the Middle Ages the false miracles of Simon Magus were compared to those of Antichrist particularly. Berengaudus, for example, compares the head that recovers from a death wound (Apoc. 13:3) to both Antichrist and Simon Magus, since both pretend to die and re-

turn to life in a parodic imitation of Christ's death and resurrection.[44]

Antiochus Epiphanes is the most widely discussed type of Antichrist in the Middle Ages. His persecution of Israel and defilement of God's temple (described in 1 Maccabees), his establishment of a stadium in Jerusalem, his attack on Sabbath worship, and his sacking the temple of the golden altar and the holy cups and bowls are often identified as the "abomination of desolation" associated with Antichrist. Rabanus Maurus identifies him in the *Commentaria in libros Macchabaeorum:* "Symbolically, therefore, this Antiochus, who intruded on sacred ground with pride, and devastated the temple, and polluted the holy place with the superstitions of the gentiles, is a type of Antichrist, who cruelly wages war against the Church of Christ, and who strives to pollute with his error the souls of believers which truly are the temple of God."[45] Jerome's commentary on Daniel, however, is probably the main source of the popularity of Antiochus as a type of Antichrist. According to Jerome, the impudent king of Daniel 11 represents Antiochus Epiphanes, who in turn is a type of Antichrist, the tyrant who comes to power through deceit and who wars against the testimony of God.[46]

The typological interpretation of Nero (Roman Emperor, 54–68) is particularly interesting, for it joins the apocalyptic Antichrist to an originally pagan belief in the return of Nero. Christians identified Nero with the "mystery of iniquity," the evil power presently at work of which Paul writes in 2 Thessalonians 2:7. Commenting on this text John Chrysostom (ca. 347–407) states: "Here this speaks of Nero, who is a type of Antichrist."[47] Since commentators accuse Nero of killing the apostles, persecuting the church, and doing the works of the devil—"his father"—his persecution is a figure of the much greater persecution to come under Antichrist. Early in the tradition this typological identification of Nero and Antichrist fused with the *Nero redivivus* legend, the belief that Nero himself would return as a great tyrant. Tacitus reports that in the first century rumors of Nero's return were common in Achaia and Asia, for many

Renan is sure John believed this. Nero the great antitheos.

thought Nero was still alive, even years after his death. Suetonius writes that although most people celebrated Nero's death, some expected him to return to destroy his enemies. Both historians record pseudo-Neros who impersonated the emperor with great success.[48]

The fusion of this classical legend with interpretations of Antichrist took place very early. It may explain, for example, the prophecy in the apocryphal *Ascension of Isaiah* (ca. 80–90) that Beliar will come in the last days "in the form of a man, a lawless king," who like Nero is "a slayer of his mother. . . ." This Beliar resembles in many respects the Antichrist alluded to in 2 Thessalonians 2 and in Apocalypse 13, and the description of his deeds outlines the troubles and events of the last days in a pattern found throughout the medieval Antichrist tradition. Beliar, whose coming will be accompanied by signs in the heavens, will be a king whom all others obey. He will be all-powerful and will blasphemously claim "I am God and before me there has been none else." All people will worship him, even the majority of those expecting Christ, although a few faithful will flee to the deserts. Beliar will perform miracles, set up idols of himself, and rule for three years, seven months, and twenty-seven days. But then Christ will come in glory and "will drag Beliar with his hosts into Gehenna. . . ."[49] The fusion of the two legends is also present in Christian Sibylline VIII (ca. 180), which predicts that "the fugitive fierce mother-slayer shall come again."[50] In his commentary on the Apocalypse, Victorinus of Pettau (d. ca. 303) identifies Nero with the head that is healed from a death wound (Apoc. 13:3). However, Sulpicius Severus (ca. 353–420) states that Nero is to return before Antichrist, and after he works great evils similar to those he did when emperor, he will be killed by Antichrist.[51] Nero is not now dead, but merely in hiding, awaiting the end of time. The legend was popular enough throughout the Middle Ages to be condemned by Lactantius (ca. 240–320), Augustine, and Peter Lombard.[52] Thomas Aquinas merely states that too many years have passed since Nero disappeared for the legend to be believable.[53] Although condemned

by the orthodox as dangerous or foolish, the legend continued into the late Middle Ages. The type of Antichrist took on a life of its own.

The identifications of the figures of Antichrist were made by serious scriptural commentators and were not merely the result of an exaggerated emphasis on allegorical exegesis. Perhaps the most thoroughly developed and profound statement of the forerunners of Antichrist is Bonaventure's detailed explanation of the distinction between Antichrist and Christ in the *Collationes in hexaemeron*. In the fourteenth collation, Bonaventure explains how the scriptures contain twelve "mysteries" from Genesis to the Apocalypse, and how Christ is symbolized in these mysteries by figures throughout scripture. Similarly, Bonaventure notes in the fifteenth collation, Antichrist is also represented throughout scripture in each of the twelve mysteries. His forerunners include Lamech, the first bigamist; Nemrod, the builder of Babel and symbol of Antichrist's pride; Balaam, the hypocrite and false advisor; and the rapacious Achan, Goliath, and Judas. The other forerunners include many of the types and symbols commonly discussed in the Antichrist tradition. For example, Dan represents Antichrist in the third mystery, the "calling of the fathers," and Abimelech, who murdered his brothers, symbolizes the cruel Antichrist in the sixth mystery, the "establishment of judges." Symbols from Daniel and the Apocalypse represent Antichrist in the eighth mystery, the "revelation of prophets," and in the twelfth mystery, the "opening of scriptures." According to Bonaventure, Antichrist will be like both the impudent king of Daniel 8:23 and the beast that rises from the abyss (Apoc. 11:7). The most common types of Antichrist in medieval exegesis—Antiochus and Simon Magus—also represent the pseudo-Christ. In the ninth mystery Antiochus, the tyrant who trampled the law of the Jews, symbolizes Antichrist as a prince, for "he will be a destroyer of the Evangelical Law and a killer of Christians." In the eleventh mystery, the "diffusion of charismatic gifts," Simon Magus represents Antichrist. Simon sought to buy the Holy Spirit, pretended to fly, and worked wonders

with diabolic aid; similarly, Antichrist "will be the worst liar; he will come with deceitful signs and prodigies."[54]

Bonaventure's carefully elaborated treatment is not typical of all medieval explanations of Antichrist's forerunners. Yet, although the interpretations sometimes vary from one commentator to another, medieval writers were remarkably consistent, considering the difficulty of the apocalyptic source material. The interpretations of Apocalpyse 13:3 illustrate the continuity of the tradition. Commentators identify the head that recovers from a death wound with Antichrist, who, while attempting to deceive the world in the last days, pretends to die and after three days come again to life in imitation of Christ. This identification passes into the *Glossa* and then into later Latin and vernacular commentaries:

> *Glossa*:
> Simulabit se Antichristus mortuum, et per triduum latens post apparebit dicens se suscitatum.
>
> Richard of Saint Victor (d. 1173):
> Et vidi unum de capitibus, id est de principibus suis, scilicet Antichristum, tanquam occisum in mortem, et plaga mortis eius curata est, quia Antichristus simulatorie, ut magis decapiat finget se mortuum, et resuscitatum, quemadmodum Christum.
>
> *Anglo-Norman Rhymed Apocalypse* (late thirteenth century):
> La teste ki fu ausi come oscise en mort
> Signefie Auntecrist ki se feindra mort,
> E al tierz jur revendra, e par coe crerunt
> La gent ke il seit Deu. . . .
>
> *Middle English Apocalypse with Commentary* (early fourteenth century):
> þe beeste þat semed ded & sleyn bitokneþ Antecrist þat shal feynen hym as he were ded & shal comen aȝein þrid day to lyve.[55]

The identification of the seventh head of the dragon (Apoc. 12) with Antichrist further exemplifies the consistent interpreta-

tions of apocalyptic symbolism in the Middle Ages. Although Berengaudus, Rupert of Deutz, and Joachim of Fiore devise differing allegorical interpretations of the first six heads, in each interpretation the seventh head represents Antichrist (see Table 3):[56]

TABLE 3

Head	Berengaudus	Rupert of Deutz	Joachim of Fiore
1	Sinners before the Flood	Egypt/Pharoah	Herod—the Jews who killed Christ
2	Sinners before the Law	Jezabel	Nero—killer of apostles
3	Idol Worshipers after the Law	Babylon/ Nebuchad-nezzar	Constantius Arrianus—heretics
4	False Prophets/ Kings	Persia	Cosdroe—Saracens
5	Jews who killed Christ, apostles	Macedonia/ Antiochus Epiphanes	King of Babylon (?)
6	Persecutors of the Church	Rome	Saladin—Turks
7	Antichrist	Antichrist	Antichrist

Antichrist stands at the end of a long line of opponents hostile to God's people. Since, as Käsemann notes, to the Christian "the course of the history of salvation and of the history of damnation runs parallel,"[57] these opponents not only persecuted God's people throughout history, but also prefigure Antichrist, the great persecutor who shall appear at the climax of history. All of

these figures are important to the development of the medieval theology of Antichrist, for the biblical commentators assume that the opponents throughout the Bible and history somehow symbolize or prefigure the final opponent, Antichrist. The next chapter of this study analyzes how the medieval theologians, having once identified the figures of Antichrist, develop a theology of Antichrist that establishes him as one of the most important figures of medieval apocalypticism.

CHAPTER 2

Exegetical Interpretations of Antichrist

To the Christian of the Middle Ages, the belief in the origins, powers, and final destruction of Antichrist was rooted firmly in scriptural authority. The medieval exegete read the apocalyptic passages of both the Old and the New Testaments, including the very words of Christ, as furnishing ample evidence that the man of great evil would come to persecute the faithful in the closing stages of earth's history. Partly because the church did not develop a dogmatic interpretation of Antichrist and partly because discussions of Antichrist are heavily dependent upon enigmatic apocalyptic symbolism, medieval beliefs concerning Antichrist were very complex and, sometimes in particulars, contradictory. The richness of such books as Daniel and the Apocalypse invites several interpretations that could be revised repeatedly, although many became standard. Exegetes often merely repeated their sources, but on occasion expanded the Antichrist tradition by enlarging on earlier interpretations or adding new details from fresh sources. Nevertheless, the motivation for interpretations of Antichrist remained the same—the attempt to understand the sacred text. Even commentators such as Joachim of Fiore and Matthew of Janov (ca. 1355–93) who radically changed the traditional interpretations or who became deeply involved in late medieval controversies continued to rely on systematic interpretations of scripture.

Although Wilhelm Bousset shows that the original legends were based on many non-Christian and even non-Jewish sources, the Bible remains the prime source for the medieval understanding of Antichrist.[1] Jewish and Persian eschatology may help explain the obscure allusions of the Apocalypse or of the Pauline or Johannine epistles, yet the exposition and the devel-

opment of the tradition in the Middle Ages were essentially the result of the explication of puzzling and difficult passages of scripture within a *Christian* context. Although the material may be of pre-Christian origins, the exegete, whose commentaries serve as the chief explanations of Antichrist, understood and interpreted the man of great evil in terms of the Christian philosophy of salvation history. Early church apocrypha and other noncanonical Christian and Jewish prophecies did of course influence the medieval understanding of Antichrist. In his discussion of apocryphal apocalypses, for example, Philipp Vielhauer notes that by the second century, Antichrist was one of "two main themes around which Christian Apocalyptic revolves . . ."[2] Generally, however, the Bible is the chief source for commentators wishing to explain last-day events. Even in the later Middle Ages, when discussions of Antichrist dealt increasingly with heretical and political polemics or with radical eschatological and prophetic schemes, discussions of scripture retained their authority. The conservative exegetical interpretations described in this chapter were sometimes modified to fit contemporary events, yet this transformation of the Antichrist tradition should not be overemphasized, although it is significant for later interpretations. Even after the influential interpretations of Joachim of Fiore and others, commentaries, encyclopedic works, manuscript illuminations, and works of literature drew heavily from the interpretations of Antichrist developed over a thousand-year period by biblical exegetes. This chapter analyzes the apocalyptic sources for the Antichrist tradition, describes the eschatological context in which these sources were interpreted, and briefly outlines the development of polemical uses of the Antichrist tradition.

Apocalyptic Sources

The term *Antichrist* is mentioned only briefly in the New Testament, and then only in the first and second letters of John.[3] The first reference, 1 John 2:18, includes features of the tradition that are developed greatly in later interpretations: "Chil-

dren, this is the last hour, and just as you heard that Antichrist comes, so now there are many Antichrists; whence we know that this is the last hour." This text stresses the end of time, which can be confidently identified as the present because of the appearance of Antichrist. It is also the source of the medieval belief in multiple Antichrists, the representatives of evil who already plague the church. Verse 22 next identifies Antichrist as he who denies Christ. It serves as the basis for later definitions of Antichrist's name and later identifications of Antichrist with all who are somehow "anti-Christian": "This is Antichrist, he who denies the Father and the Son." 1 John 4:3 expands on this identification and once again emphasizes the presence of Antichrist: "And every spirit which weakens Jesus is not from God; and this is Antichrist, whom you heard would come and now is already in the world." The last biblical reference to Antichrist by name, 2 John 7, further identifies him as the deceiver of the church. It associates him again with many deceivers: "Because many seducers have gone into the world who do not confess that Jesus Christ came in the flesh; this is the seducer and the Antichrist."

These four texts form the basis for the medieval understanding of Antichrist. They establish important features of the Antichrist tradition by associating Antichrist with the last days and the time of the end (which the author believed was imminent), by describing the contemporary appearance of many Antichrists, and by identifying Antichrist with those who deny Christ and with other heretics. The Johannine texts also illustrate the allusive nature of the tradition, which encouraged commentators to explicate and identify Antichrist. The writer alludes to an oral tradition ("and just as you heard") that Bousset believes was the basis for the Christian reshaping of the originally non-Christian material.[4] The first readers of 1 and 2 John presumably understood the allusion. They interpreted the text within a context that later readers during the Middle Ages and even today lack. The exact meaning of Antichrist is the subject of debate; the term probably refers to local false teachers who are identified as "Antichrists" in order to emphasize their danger. This obliquity is typical of apocalyptic writings, and it is evident in Daniel 12:9

("the words are shut up and sealed until the appointed time") and Matthew 24:15 ("he who reads let him understand"). Referring to a previous communication, 2 Thessalonians 2:3–11 includes several undefined references that the writer apparently assumed would be understood by his first-century audience. These and other texts create for the Antichrist tradition an atmosphere of hidden understanding—open for those who delve deeply enough into the secrets of Holy Scripture.

The *Glossa ordinaria* is a reliable guide to how the Johannine texts were interpreted in the Middle Ages. Originally ascribed to Walafrid Strabo, the *Glossa* is now considered the work of a group of compilers working with Anselm of Laon. Together with the *Postilla* of Nicholas of Lyra (1270–1340), the interlinear and marginal glosses became a standard reference work for scriptural exegeses in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance.[5] The *Glossa* is particularly valuable in the study of the medieval Antichrist, for in its comments on the key texts of the tradition, it presents an orthodox and collocative statement that is detailed yet not colored by the more ingenious and sometime radical features that became associated with the tradition in its later development. The *Glossa*'s commentary on the Johannine verses emphasizes Antichrist's violence at the end of the world. It notes that the time of the end draws near, that those who deny Christ are heretics and false Christians, that such are now in great abundance in the church. It also cautions that Antichrist will deceive many, even faithful Christians.[6]

The numerous features of the medieval Antichrist legend obviously are not limited to the direct references to Antichrist found in 1 and 2 John. As chapter 1 of this book explains, the tradition is based on identifications of the many types and symbols of Antichrist. Once exegetes identified these, they could explicate relevant texts that thereby became associated with the legend and further stimulated the development of the medieval beliefs concerning Antichrist. In addition to the Johannine texts, the most important, and perhaps the most interesting, single source for the interpretation of Antichrist is 2 Thessalonians 2:3–11. This passage, traditionally ascribed to Paul, adds much

detail concerning the deeds of Antichrist and the timing of last-day events. Commentaries on this enigmatic passage, in fact, form an interpretative tradition in their own right.[7] To the Middle Ages Paul was a major prophet who warned against Antichrist. He was a prophet to be studied for his explanations of Antichrist's deceit and his promise that the deceiver would be destroyed finally. Illuminated Bibles and commentaries sometimes illustrate 2 Thessalonians by portraying the death of Antichrist or Paul preaching against Antichrist.[8] The importance of 2 Thessalonians 2:3–11 is particularly evident in the *Glossa*, which in its comments on Antichrist throughout scripture refers to this passage more often than to any other, including 1 and 2 John and the Apocalypse.

Several features of the Antichrist tradition originate in interpretations of 2 Thessalonians 2:3–11. The following survey of the passage first quotes the significant verse and then summarizes its standard exegetical interpretation:

Verse 3: "Let no one seduce you in any manner, because the falling away will come first, and the man of sin will be revealed, the son of perdition."

Antichrist, the man of sin and the son of the devil, will appear before Christ's Second Advent. He will lead a great apostasy. But first, nations and peoples will break away from Roman (imperial or ecclesiastic) power.

Verse 4: "Who opposes and is lifted up against all that is called god or that is worshipped to such an extent that he sits in the temple of God displaying himself just as if he were God."

Antichrist will presume to raise himself against God and God's church. Specifically, he will rebuild the temple in Jerusalem destroyed by the Romans, crown himself, claim to be God, and demand to be worshiped.

Verse 6: "And now you know what detains him, so that he shall be revealed in his own time."

The Roman empire (in later interpretations, the Roman church or a kingdom claiming continuity with Rome) now restrains Antichrist. But he will be revealed in his own time, after the end of the empire and at the end of the world.

Verse 7: "For already the mystery of iniquity is working."

The power of Antichrist, identified in his types and forerunners (in the early church especially with Nero), is presently at work, particularly among heretics and false Christians in the church.

Verse 8: "And then that evil one shall be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall kill with the spirit of his mouth and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming."

At the end of the world, Antichrist will be proven false and finally defeated. He cannot, however, be destroyed by any human act. Christ (at his Second Advent) or Michael (as Christ's agent) will kill Antichrist.

Verse 9: "Whose coming is according to the work of Satan in all power and in signs and in false marvels."

Satan will give Antichrist, his agent, the power to work false signs and wonders in order that he can deceive the faithful.

Verse 11: "In order that all may be judged who do not believe the truth, but instead consent to iniquity."

God will allow Antichrist's deception and persecution in order to test Christians and to condemn the pseudo-Christians and all others who prefer evil above truth.[9]

Commentaries on the Apocalypse also greatly influenced the development of the Antichrist tradition and its iconography.[10] They portray Antichrist as a great deceiver and blasphemer and as the agent of Satan, but they also add interesting details to the tradition—specifics concerning Antichrist's miracles and persecution of the faithful and new features such as the mark and number of Antichrist and the appearance of Enoch and Elias in the last days. Apocalypse 13 is the most important passage. The

difficulties in identifying the various symbols of this chapter have been noted already. In addition to discussng these symbols, commentaries on Apocalpyse 13 usually emphasize the great blasphemy, powers, and deceit of Antichrist. Receiving his power from the devil (dragon), Antichrist (seven-headed beast) reigns for forty-two months (three and one-half years). He will blaspheme against God, even claiming to be Christ (verse 1–2). The whole world will worship him and the devil (verse 3–4), and he will war against the faithful (verse 5), who are not deceived and who stand firmly against him (verse 7). Antichrist, or his prophet (two-horned beast), will perform great miracles (verse 11), including sending fire from heaven (verse 13). All except a faithful remnant will be deceived (verse 14) and will be given the mark of Antichrist (verse 16). Lacking the mark, the faithful will be unable to buy or sell (verse 17), and many will starve or flee to the mountains. The elect can identify Antichrist by the number of the beast, 666 (verse 18).

The interpretation of the number particularly intrigued medieval exegetes. Irenaeus (ca. 125–202) explains that 666 is a suitable number for Antichrist because it is composed of 600 (the age of Noah when the deluge came), 60 (the heighth in cubits of Nebuchadnezzar's statue), and 6 (the statue's breadth in cubits). The number is fitting, since in the last days sin in the world will be as it was in the days of Noah, and since Nebuchadnezzar's statue was used to force idolatry on, and to persecute, God's people. By manipulating the numerical values of the Greek and Latin alphabets, Irenaeus and other early exegetes, such as Victorinus of Pettau, devised several Greek and Latin words that could be symbolically identified with Antichrist. Irenaeus warns against guessing the name of Antichrist, but nevertheless notes that "Lateinos" and "Teitan" are suitable, although not certain, names.[11] A collection of these and other interpretations of the number are illustrated in the many illuminated manuscripts of Beatus, *In Apocalipsim.* The manuscripts include two large tables in the manner of Eusebian canons. Each details the numerical relationship between the 666, the symbolic names, and Antichrist.[12] Both tables begin with "Antechristum" and list

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seven other names including Irenaeus' "Teitan" and "DicLux," a name representing Antichrist's blasphemous imitation of God. On the other hand, many commentators find the meaning of 666 so uncertain that they either pass over it or state that they dare not interpret it. Berengaudus summarizes the interpretive problems: "Concerning this number, many have said many things, and they have discovered many more names in whose letters this number can be found. Nevertheless, if Antichrist should possess some among these names, they cannot be foreseen; but it is so uncertain, never do I dare define it. For who knows, if the name which was given one by one's parents may contain that number?"[13]

One of the most important legends linked with Antichrist is the belief that Enoch and Elias will come in the last days to preach against Antichrist and to convert the Jews to Christianity. The return of Enoch (Gen. 5:24) and Elias (2 Kings 2:11) is appropriate, since neither experienced death. Medieval exegetes believed that the Jews would ultimately be converted to Christianity (Zech. 12:10) and found support for the return of Elias, in particular, in the prophecy of Malachi 4:5. "Behold, I will send to you Elias the prophet, before the great and horrible day of the Lord comes."[14] But Apocalypse 11:3–13 is the basis for linking the two Old Testament characters to Antichrist. According to medieval exegesis, the passage describes two witnesses—Enoch and Elias—who will preach for 1,260 days (three and one-half years) (verse 3). Through their power to perform miracles and to preach, they will convert many from Antichrist to Christ (verse 6). But Antichrist will kill them (verse 7) and leave them unburied for three and one-half days (verse 8), to be inspected by all peoples, who will rejoice at the sight (verses 9–10). Then Enoch and Elias will be brought back to life (verse 11) to join God and the saints in heaven (verse 12). Their rise to heaven will be accompanied by much wonder and a great earthquake (verse 13).[15] Of all the legends that were attached to the Antichrist tradition during the Middle Ages, the belief in the appearance of Enoch and Elias was the most popular and widespread in theological discussions, literature, and art.

The Apocalypse also describes the cosmic battle between good and evil that involves Antichrist as the leader of the hosts of evil (Apoc. 17:9–14). Satan's power is restricted for one thousand years, but in the last days it is increased when Antichrist gathers the hosts of Gog and Magog (Apoc. 20:8). Since interpretations of the Apocalypse first associate Gog and Magog with the armies of Antichrist, medieval exegetes also interpreted the Old Testament sources of Gog and Magog, Ezekiel 38 and 39, to further add to their knowledge of the last days.[16] Summoned from hiding "after many days" (Ezek. 38:8), Gog and Magog will overrun the people of God, the faithful Christians (verse 9), like a cloud covering the earth (verse 16). With their leader—Antichrist—they will be destroyed eventually by God (Ezek. 39:21–22). The legend of Gog and Magog, greatly expanded in the Christian Sibylline literature, thereby became an important feature of the medieval understanding of Antichrist and the events of the last days.

Further expectations of last-day events and of the deception of Antichrist and his false prophets are based on the words of Christ found in the synoptic gospels—Matthew 24, Mark 13, and Luke 21. The following interpretations of Matthew 24 are representative.[17] Antichrist is the great pseudo-Christ prophesied in verse 5: "For many will come in my name saying, 'I am Christ,' and will seduce many." Throughout the Middle Ages, the hallmark of Antichrist's deceit and blasphemy was his claim to be Christ. Repeatedly, theological discussions, manuscript illustrations, and literary accounts explain that Antichrist will imitate Christ and thereby deceive the unwary by stating, "Ego sum Christus." The numerous false prophets who deceive the church (verse 11) and perform miracles to mislead the faithful (verse 24) are heretics and disciples of Antichrist. Exegetes interpreted Christ's warning of the "abomination of desolation" (verse 15), which refers explicitly to Daniel 9:27, 11:31, and 12:11, by noting how Antichrist's type, Antiochus Epiphanes, polluted the temple at Jerusalem (1 Macc. 1:57–60), and by explaining how in the last days Antichrist will similarly pollute the temple by rebuilding it and then erecting an image of himself that he will

force his converts to worship. The synoptic apocalypse is also the chief source for medieval discussions of the evils of the last days and the signs of Antichrist's appearance, although the signs are predicted throughout the New Testament (e.g., 1 Tim. 4:1–2; 2 Tim. 3:1–5). Christ's description of the persecutions, sufferings, and signs in the last days (Matt. 24:9–12, 17–22, 29–30) is repeated in many later prophetic works. The general sign of the end most popularly explained is the great increase in evil (verse 12) and subsequent cooling of love ("refrigescet caritas"). Commentators especially recognized this condition when they complained of contemporary evils and compared them to those expected in the last days.

The references in the Apocalypse to Gog and Magog and Christ's allusions to the abomination of desolation exemplify the Christian New Testament's borrowing of Jewish Old Testament apocalyptic expectations. Medieval exegetes continually searched biblical texts to interpret the difficult apocalyptic passages. Nicholas of Lyra, for example, especially brings his full knowledge of scripture to bear on individual apocalyptic texts. Interpreting Christ's statement that during the great final persecution "time will be made brief" (Matt. 24:21–22), Nicholas borrows from the prophetic time periods of both Daniel and the Apocalypse. He explains that Christ does not refer to the natural twenty-four hour day when he promises that the days will be shortened, "because the length of the day is based on the motion of the sun, which is uniform." Instead, he argues, Christ means that the persecution will not last long, but for only three and one-half years.[18] Nicholas thus provides a specific interpretation for the vague "time made brief" by fitting Christ's words into the scheme of "the time and times and dividing of times" (three and one-half years) of Daniel 7:25, the 1,260 days (three and one-half years) of Apocalypse 11:3, and the forty-two months (three and one-half years) of Apocalypse 13:5.

These time prophecies are set forth especially in the book of Daniel, the most important Old Testament source of the Antichrist tradition. Its symbolic time periods influenced the medieval dating of Antichrist's reign and predictions of his imminent

appearance, and it also became the major source for the medieval portrayal of Antichrist as a great tyrant, a warrior who will conquer all nations. Alluded to by Christ (Matt. 24:15), the book of Daniel combines a historical and prophetic vision that fits well into both typological and symbolic interpretations of Antichrist. According to Hippolytus, the great image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dan. 2) represents the four great empires of Babylon, Medo-Persia, Alexander, and Rome. The ten toes, like the ten horns of Apocalypse 13:1, represent the ten kings of the future from whom Antichrist will ultimately rise.[19] Symbolically, the vision of the four beasts (Dan. 7) also supports the interpretations of Apocalypse 13. Daniel's fourth beast, so terrible that it cannot be compared to any animal (the first is like a lion, the second like a bear, the third like a leopard), has ten horns. The little horn, which uproots three of the other horns and has eyes like a man and a mouth that speaks proud words (verse 8), is Antichrist, who, as Nicholas of Lyra explains, will come after the last king's rule. He is pictured as a little horn, for at first he will have little power. But as he is the agent of Satan, his power will grow so that he will overcome the kings of Africa (Libya), Egypt, and Ethiopia. After this military victory (over the three horns), Antichrist will perform great wonders and deceive all nations. He will wage war against the saints (verse 21) until the ancient of days comes in glory to destroy him (verse 22). The persecution will last, of course, for three and one-half years (verse 25).[20]

Daniel 11 is a further influential source. Exegetes often referred to it to support typological interpretations of Antichrist. This chapter begins with a description of the Persians and then discusses the rule of Alexander ("the strong king," verse 3), the division of his empire (verse 4), and the wars between the kings of Egypt and Syria (verses 5–20). Verses 21–30 then describe the deeds of Antiochus Epiphanes, the "radix peccatrix" of 1 Maccabees1:11 and the great type of Antichrist the tyrant. Antiochus takes power by fraud (verse 21) and through alliances controls the richest nations (verses 22–24). According to Jerome, his battle against the king of the south (verses 25–26) represents Anti-

christ's victory over the king of Egypt (one of the three horns of Dan. 7:8), while the "abominatiónem in desolationem" (verse 31) represents the statue of himself that Antiochus Epiphanes sets up in the temple at Jerusalem "in typo Antichristi."[21] Medieval commentators continued to interpret the chapter by discussing Antichrist's tyrannic rule (verses 32–36), when few will be able to resist his deceit and blasphemy. After defeating the kings of Libya and Ethiopia (verse 43), Antichrist will journey to the Mount of Olives where, claiming to be Christ, he prepares to imitate the Ascension. But there he will be killed by Christ or his agent Michael (verse 45).

Although the time prophecies of Daniel 12:7–12 are quite confusing, medieval exegetes nevertheless did not avoid interpreting them but explained that the "time and times and dividing of times" (verse 7) and the 1,290 days (verse 11) predict Antichrist's persecution of the righteous for three and one-half years. Exegetes even reconciled the discrepancy between the 1,290 days and the 1,260 days predicted elsewhere in the exegetical tradition. Nicholas of Lyra, for example, explains that the 1,290-day period represents the time of the abomination of desolation, which is established shortly before the 1,260-day final great persecution. The persecution and the abomination, however, conclude simultaneously. Therefore, a forty-five-day period remains between the 1,290-day abomination and yet a third prophetic period of 1,335 days. This third period begins at the time of the abomination of desolation and runs concurrently with the 1,290-day period. It is described in verse 12: "Blessed is he who waits for and endures even to a thousand three hundred and thirty-five days." Although Nicholas notes that it is impossible to determine for certain the exact time of Christ's Second Advent, the blessing achieved at the end of 1,335 days apparently is eternal salvation. During the period separating this blessing from the end of the abomination of desolation and Antichrist's persecution (the 1,290- and 1,260-day periods), Christians will be given an opportunity to return to the true church. The forty-five days (or symbolically a longer period) will

be a time of peace after the persecution and death of Antichrist granted to Christians "in order that those deceived in the persecution of Antichrist might be able to repent."[22]

Commentators also interpreted other biblical texts to explain particular beliefs connected with Antichrist. For example, the notion that Antichrist will be born of Jewish parents from the tribe of Dan is based on Genesis 49:16–17, Deuteronomy 33:22, and Jeremiah 8:16.[23] Isaiah 25:6–8 was interpreted as a prophecy that the Lord will kill Antichrist, as Nicholas of Lyra states, "on the Mount of Olives, in the same place where the Lord ascended to Heaven."[24] Gregory, in his influential *Moralia,* interprets Behemoth (Job 40:10–19) and Leviathan (Job 40:20–41:25) as allegorically Antichrist. The teeth of Leviathan (Job 41:6) are false teachers and the mouth of Leviathan (Job 41:10) is a false prophet of Antichrist.[25] Exegetes also repeatedly quoted biblical texts chastizing the Jews to condemn them for accepting Antichrist. According to Jerome, Jeremiah 9:14–16 predicts the punishment of the Jews for preferring Antichrist to Christ.[26] Perhaps the most repeated text so interpreted to attack the Jews is John 5:43, an example of how even nonapocalyptic biblical passages were interpreted to expand and explain last-day events: "I came in the name of my Father and you did not accept me; if another comes in his own name, him you will accept." These words of Christ were consistently used as proof that in the last days the Jews will flock to join Antichrist, he who comes in his own name. As Bruno of Segni concludes, "those who are unwilling to believe in the manner of truth, that is in Christ, will believe in deceptions."[27]

The Bible thus served as the chief source for the numerous details that the Middle Ages associated with Antichrist's appearance in the last days. Some early Christian noncanonical sources also dealt with Antichrist or developed legends that influenced medieval expectations of Antichrist. The apocryphal *Apocalypse of Peter* (ca. 135) and *Gospel of Nicodemus* (ca. 300–500), for example, predict that in the last days Enoch and Elias will be sent to expose Antichrist. The widespread influence of the apocryphal *Gospel* is evident throughout medieval literature, for it is the

chief source of Harrowing of Hell narratives. The Middle English *Harrowing of Hell,* part of the Chester mystery play cycle, follows the *Gospel of Nicodemus* by portraying Enoch and Elias in the Earthly Paradise. There they await the appearance of Antichrist, whose coming is staged in a later play of the cycle.[28] Other apocryphal sources also contributed to the later development of a full-fledged Antichrist legend. For example, the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* (ca. 313–25) and *Acts of Peter* (ca. 180–90) detail the career of Simon Magus, the deceitful type of Antichrist. Predictions and descriptions of Antichrist are found also in the fourth-century *Apocalypse of Elijah* and the fifth-century *Apocalypse of John.*[29] The signs of the last days are described graphically in the *Apocalypse of Thomas* (ca. 200–400), which details wondrous signs taking place over seven days. This account was particularly influential in the early Middle Ages, although it was later lost and not again known until the twentieth century. There are four Old English versions of the *Apocalypse of Thomas.* One is included in *Blickling Homily* VII and another in *Vercelli Homily* XV (both mid-tenth century). Both homilies detail the signs of evil, political events, and astrological wonders that serve as "the foretokens of the day when the coming of Antichrist draws near."[30]

The Sibylline Oracles were also important noncanonical sources of the Antichrist tradition. The belief in the sibyl originated in Greece, spread to Rome, and was eventually appropriated by the Hellenized Jews of Alexandria during the second century before Christ. Later, the eschatology of the Oracles, borrowed from Jewish apocalypticism, greatly influenced Christian writers. Hermas (ca. 100), Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–220), Justin Martyr (d. 165), Hippolytus, Tertullian, Commodian (mid-third century), Lactantius, and Augustine quote or refer to the sibyl. Since Christians believed that the sibyl had prophesied the birth of Christ, and since after the first century many of the sibylline books were either written by Christians or heavily interpolated with Christian doctrine, during the Middle Ages the Oracles were often considered inspired. Books I, II, and V show Christian revision, while books VI, VII, and most of VIII are

purely Christian.[31] As R. W. Southern points out, they took their place as prophetic sources alongside biblical, Christian, and astrological prophecies.[32] Although having a wide-ranging influence upon the whole Antichrist tradition, the sibylline literature made its most important contribution to the political legends associated with Antichrist. Elaborations of the medieval legends of *Nero redivivus* (Books III, IV, V), the Last World Emperor, and Gog and Magog are due largely to the Oracles and later sibylline literature. Two later sibylline works, the Pseudo-Methodius *Revelations* (late seventh century) and the *Tiburtine Oracle*, were particularly influential in expanding the exegetical interpretations of Antichrist.

Falsely attributed to Bishop Methodius (d. ca. 300), the *Revelations* (cited in this study as *Pseudo-Methodius*) is a collection of apocalyptic materials composed while Christendom witnessed the rise of Islam.[33] It traces history from Creation to Doomsday and particularly emphasizes the barbaric deeds of Gog and Magog and the infamous rule of the sons of Ishmael (Islam). The *Pseudo-Methodius* also further details the evils of the last days and prophesies the rise of a great king who will unify Christendom but relinquish power immediately before the appearance of Antichrist. Often quoted by exegetes and referred to throughout the *Glossa ordinaria*, the *Pseudo-Methodius* acquired great influence during the later Middle Ages. For example, some manuscript illustrations treat it as a standard commentary. It also appears repeatedly in collections of *prophetia* and in vernacular translations that influenced popular expectations of the end. One Middle English metrical version tells of "Antecryst þe develys byrde" who will work great wonders "ryte as symon magus dede."[34] The *Pseudo-Methodius* also adds particulars concerning Antichrist's early life that are not found in the earlier patristic sources of the tradition. These details will be examined in chapter 3.

The second important later sibylline source influencing the political expectations of the Antichrist legend is the *Tiburtine Oracle*. A visionary work, it is based on an early Latin prose

translation of a fourth-century Greek prophecy and was known to the Middle Ages in several eleventh- and twelfth-century recensions. As one scholar notes, the *Tiburtine Oracle* is "political theology in the mask of prophecy."[35] In a medieval interpolation, it includes a list of several European kings whose names are coded by initials. They are predicted to reign between the fall of Rome and Antichrist. The *Tiburtine Oracle* then identifies a final great king, the Last World Emperor: "And then a king of the Greeks will rise, whose name is Constans, and he will be the king of the Romans and of the Greeks."[36] This king will establish a reign of peace before the rule of Antichrist. During his reign, the heathen will be defeated and the Jews converted to Christianity. Because of its political prophecies and its supposed antiquity and authority (in one recension it is attributed to Bede), medieval historians often make use of versions of the *Tiburtine Oracle* and other sibylline literature to explain the course of history.[37] These prophecies appear in several manuscript collections as "Prophetia Sibille." Matthew Paris incorporates a series of sibylline prophecies early in his *Chronica majora* (mid-thirteenth century), while Peter Comestor, in *Historia scholastica* (ca. 1170), draws upon the *Tiburtine Oracle* in his commentary on Daniel.

Exegetes studied the sibylline literature, along with scripture and other prophecies, in order to determine the specific details of last-day events. The *Tiburtine Oracle* and the *Pseudo-Methodius* thereby became major sources for the later medieval understanding of Antichrist. They were particularly influential in the expansion and transformation of the Antichrist tradition to include such legends as the release of Gog and Magog and the reign of the Last World Emperor. By including some legends not at first discussed in the exegetical interpretations, the sibylline literature helped make Antichrist the central figure of medieval eschatology. Antichrist became, like King Arthur in later Arthurian romance, less important as an individual and more important as a central figure around whom many other legends and expectations could be organized.

Antichrist and the Last Days

The Christian understanding of history is based on three acts of Christ: his work as Creator, as Savior, and as Judge. The first two acts are accomplished; the third is yet to take place. From the very beginning of the church, Christians believed that Christ would return quickly, an expectation that is amply evident in the New Testament.[38] The words of Christ include many calls to repent in preparation for the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 4:17), many warnings of the coming of the Son of Man when least expected (Matt. 24:44), and several promises that some who hear him speak will be yet alive when the kingdom of God comes to power (Mark 9:1). In Matthew 25:1–13, Christ tells the parable of the five foolish and five wise virgins and again warns the disciples to be ready. Mark 13, called the "little apocalypse," concludes with Christ's command, "Be alert" (verse 37). The belief that the early church was witnessing the last days is also illustrated in the texts dealing with Antichrist, especially in 1 and 2 John and 2 Thessalonians 2. Although recognizing that no man knows specifically the hour of Christ's Second Advent, early Christians believed that the promise of the Ascension would quickly be fulfilled: "This Jesus, who is ascended from you into heaven, will come just as you see him going into heaven" (Acts 1:11).

In early Christian literature, the imminent end of the world is linked to the Antichrist tradition. For example, the *Epistle of Barnabas* (ca. 117–38) predicts that the "final stumbling block" will come now that the end draws near. This stumbling block is Antichrist, the Christians' last temptation before Christ's return in glory. The Christian Sibyl II similarly expects his coming, although he is named Beliar rather than Antichrist.[39] But like Antichrist, Beliar is a deceiver and a miracle worker:

> Near is the end, when instead of prophets
> False deceivers approach, spreading reports on earth.
> And Beliar too shall come and do many signs
> For men.

The identification of Antichrist as the last persecutor of the faithful further led exegetes to include him among the many evils that prophets envisioned before Judgment Day. Tertullian understood the moral and religious conditions of his age as typical of the evils that will precede Christ's final coming in judgment. He therefore concluded that Christians in his day lived at the very end of time. Similarly, Lactantius described the last days as a time when impiety, avarice, and lust will control the evil, who will prey on the good. It will be a time of despair, fear, inhumanity, and war: "There will be no faith in men, no peace, no humanity, no decency, no truth, as well as neither security nor order nor relief from any evil."[40]

This pessimistic outlook naturally expected that contemporary events could have only one meaning—that the reign of evil was imminent. The persecution of the early church and the numerous political and national upheavals of the late Roman empire all became signs that the end approached and that Antichrist would, at any time, rise to power. Of course, as the church became established, it lost much of its early apocalyptic fervor. In the work of some writers, the urgent expectation of the Parousia was forgotten and Doomsday was expected sometime in the distant future. In the work of others, the apocalyptic was spiritualized, the kingdom of God interpreted as the church on earth. The suddenness of the end was explained not as the imminent appearance of Christ but as the suddenness of death. Even as the church became firmly established on earth, however, doctrinally it did not condemn the earlier apocalyptic expectations. As Jaroslav Pelikan notes, a more radical apocalypticism was tolerated by the church as long as it did not deny the creed.[41]

Even as the centuries passed, the belief in the imminent end remained strong. For example, in his exegesis of the "novissima hora est" of 1 John 2:18, Bede relates the parable of the workers in the vineyard and concludes that the world indeed is in its eleventh hour, that many Antichrists are presently at work, and that the end of time quickly approaches.[42] Eschatology remained a

major preoccupation of commentaries, especially after the eighth century, when the Apocalypse became a major object of study for exegetes and of illustration for artists. Vernacular sermons in the tenth century still reflect this preoccupation. J. E. Cross describes as a common Old English *topos* the belief that the world is in its old age and that, like an old man, it continues to grow worse day by day.[43] The Old English *Life of Saint Neot* concludes that contemporary evils prove the nearness of Doomsday, while warnings of Doomsday are very common in the *Vercelli Homilies*, the *Blickling Homilies*, and the homilies of Ælfric and Wulfstan. Later medieval poets continued to predict the imminent end and to identify their own days with the approach of Antichrist. The *balades* of Eustache Deschamps (1346–1406), for instance, repeatedly discuss the signs of the end. His "La fin du monde est proche" notes several contemporary signs that, though updated for his time, are still powerful indicators supporting his belief that the end is imminent:

> Le bien commun va a perdicion;
> La loy deffault et l'estude est perie;
> Les biens de Dieu sont en vendicion;
> Les meurs muent de la chevalerie;
> L'or se depart, tout estat se varie;
> Justice fault, humilité et foy;
> Convers, baras, regnent en court de roy;
> Particuliers sont partout toutes gens;
> Religieus, seculiers apperçoy:
> Pour ce du mont vient li fénissemens.[44]

Traditionally, one prominent sign of the end will be the great increase in the power and number of the vices. Medieval literature often places Antichrist in eschatological context by coupling him with personified evil. Antichrist's special relationship to the vices is not noted in early Christian literature, such as the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius (ca. 348–410). Yet after Berengaudus allegorically interpreted the seven-headed beast that rises from the sea (Apoc. 13:1) to represent Antichrist and the seven vices, later literature links him closely to the vices.[45] For example, Des-

champs' "Prophecie," after detailing the terrors of the times, the signs in the heavens, and the increase in vices, alludes to the appearance of the "fil de perdicion." The *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist* (1234–37) and *Piers Plowman* (ca. 1377–90) characterize Antichrist as the leader of the vices. Other poems, such as the fourteenth-century "Antechriste, quid moraris?" wonder why Antichrist does not appear, since the evil times are obviously ripe.[46] John Gower, in his *Mirour de l'Omne*, analyzes contemporary problems as typical of the last days. He merges the expected rule of Antichrist with another popular *topos* of late medieval literature, the notion that in the last days the virtues will be turned into vices.[47] This belief is developed further in numerous Middle English complaints on the times and in the Wyclifite polemics of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries: "And þus bi Anticrist and hise clerkis ben vertues transposid to vicis."[48] In these and other examples, poets, homilists, exegetes, and prophets perceived enough similarities between their own times and the time of Antichrist to conclude that they were living near the end of time.

The assurance that the end was imminent encouraged many Christians to predict the date of Antichrist's appearance and the end of the world. Basing his chronology on the assumption that world history would last 6,000 years, one fourth-century writer notes that since 5,530 years passed from Creation to Christ's Passion, only 470 years remain between the Passion and the end of the world, when Antichrist shall appear.[49] Conservative exegetes such as Augustine ridicule these efforts and argue that they are a waste of time. Pope Boniface VIII, for example, reportedly reacted to one such prediction by contemptuously asking, "Why do these fools expect the end of the world?"[50] Yet serious exegetes, both orthodox and heretical, continued to set dates for the appearance of Antichrist.

Although in the past, historians have exaggerated the certainty of tenth-century Europeans that the world would end in the year 1000 or perhaps the year 1033 (a millennium after the Passion), events of the final years of the tenth century encouraged Christians to identify their own times with the last days. As

Henri Focillon states, "A society that is deeply troubled and often unhappy, naturally tends to read literally the great texts from which millenarianism has arisen; but even more generally, it tends to give an apocalyptic interpretation to history, to worship the God of Terror, and to live in the expectation of Judgment Day."[51] Although there is little evidence for the tenth-century worship of "the God of Terror"—and in any case not all Christians in the tenth century used the "anno domini" dating system, so that many would not have been aware of the end of the millennium—it is true that in parts of Europe the troubles of the age created a sense of eschatological crisis. In his history of the late tenth century, for example, Raoul Glaber refers to signs and fears of the end of the world, whereas Abbo of Fleury (d. 1104) tells of a sermon preached in Paris that predicted the coming of Antichrist for the year 1000.[52] The terrors of the Danish invasions of England particularly led to the conclusion that the end was imminent. Wulfstan, in his famous *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (ca. 1010), identifies the invasions of the Danes and the sins of the English people as signs of Antichrist and Doomsday.[53]

Expectations of Antichrist's imminent appearance and the end of the world continued to intensify in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The so-called "Toledo Letter," first appearing in 1184, interpreted astrological phenomena to predict the destruction of the world in 1186. Later versions of the letter were revised to predict doom in 1229, 1345, and 1395, and in one late fifteenth-century recension, to forecast the establishment of Antichrist's kingdom in 1516.[54] However, apocalyptic excitement in the thirteenth century revolved around the year 1260 especially. Expectations of the pseudo-Christ were based on interpretations of the 1,260-day prophecies and on later speculations influenced by the radical eschatology of Joachim of Fiore. These expectations may account for the popularity of illuminated Apocalypse manuscripts in the mid-thirteenth century. Many of the so-called Anglo-Norman Apocalypses were produced between 1240 and 1260.[55] Furthermore, rumors of the end were especially widespread. As the date approached, almost every war, astronomical event, or illness became identified with

the signs of the end. For example, Matthew Paris records, under the year 1242, Europe's concern with the ravages of the Tartars, a certain sign that the reign of Antichrist was imminent. He includes three verses announcing the advent of Antichrist in 1250:

> Cum fuerint anni transacti mille ducenti
> Et quinquaginta post partum Virginis almae
> Tunc Antichristus nascetur daemone plenus.[56]

Variations of these verses predicting Antichrist for 1290, 1300, 1310, 1360, and 1375 suggest that the passing of 1260 without the cataclysmic event did not discourage predictions for later dates. The black death and other problems of the fourteenth century could easily signify the end of time. In Italy, for example, the chronicler Giovanni Villani felt that the catastrophes of 1348, when over half of the populations of Florence and Siena died of the plague, represented the signs of Doomsday. This pessimistic understanding of contemporary events was widely shared by his fellow Florentines and, as Millard Meiss has argued, had a significant effect on early Renaissance art.[57]

Self-proclaimed prophets often interpreted such natural phenomena even though date-setting was discouraged by the church. One such writer is Arnold of Villanova (1240–1311), who argues that Christ's words stating that no man is to know the time of the end specifically refers only to the actual end of the world and not to the preliminary appearance of Antichrist, who Arnold predicted would come in 1378.[58] Later, the early Czech reformer Jan Milic (d. 1374) interpreted the 1,290-day and 1,335-day prophecies of Daniel 12:11–12 in order to identify the appearance of Antichrist in 1367.[59] Other rumors and expectations of Antichrist in the fourteenth century centered on the years 1300, 1325, 1335, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1365, 1387, 1396, and 1400. Furthermore, the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries witnessed a growing apocalyptic sense of doom, even when many writers were influenced by the optimistic Joachimist expectation of an eventual restoration of the church or by the new humanistic affirmation of man's capabilities. Although such emi-

nent theologians and preachers as Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419) and Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444) emphasized that no person could know the day, hour, month, or year of Antichrist's appearance, many contemporaries sought to date the dreaded time. Manfred of Vercelli, for example, preached the imminent reign of Antichrist in 1417–18, and in 1429 a certain Friar Richard preached through France that Antichrist was already born.[60] In Italy chroniclers recorded prophets who predicted devastations for the last two decades of the fifteenth century. The grip Savonarola established on the city of Florence in the 1490s may have been due to his early preaching of the imminence of Doomsday and his exploitation of the apocalyptic expectations widespread in Florence in his time.[61] In the Greek East, meanwhile, writers expected the end of the world around 1492–94, because these years, according to Byzantine chronology, marked the end of the seventh millennium.[62]

The dating of Antichrist's appearance and the exact order of last-day events were complicated by varying interpretations of Apocalypse 20:1–10. This passage is the basis for the belief in the millennium, a thousand-year time of peace and plenty when the righteous will rule the earth. The passage describes the imprisonment of the dragon for a thousand years, after which it is released to fight against the saints for a short time. Orthodox commentators, following Jerome and Augustine, interpret the passage as predicting the establishment of God's church on earth. According to Augustine, during the Harrowing of Hell, Christ bound Satan so that he no longer could tempt with the full power of his evil; as a result, the saints presently reign with Christ in his kingdom, the church. Other writers support this symbolic reading of the passage. The power of Satan, Nicholas of Lyra explains, has been restricted by Christ's preaching and Passion and by the apostles and the saints.[63] The millennium is thus the present, the time of the Christian church, not a future age.

Such an understanding of the millennium—followed by Bede, for example—interprets the first six ages of world history based on Creation week as historical time ranging from Creation to

Doomsday. The seventh age, represented by the Lord's rest on the Sabbath of Creation week, is the symbol of human rest beyond time. This view of the millennium expects Antichrist to appear at the end of the sixth age. He comes after the reign of the church, when for a short time the dragon/devil once again is allowed to rage (Apoc. 20:7). Then Antichrist will persecute the church for three and one-half years. In some interpretations of the ages, the seventh represents the eternal life that the righteous share with God, whereas in other explanations, the seventh age of rest corresponds to the state of the souls of the righteous dead before the general resurrection at the end of the world. An eighth age then represents the resurrection and the anticipated future eternal life.[64] At the conclusion of his *On the Old and the New Testament*, for example, Ælfric explains the sixth, seventh, and eighth ages of the world. After summarizing the books of the Bible, he notes that the sixth age begins with Christ and ends with Doomsday. The seventh is not a literal historical age, but represents the state of death. It begins with Abel (the first to die) and also ends with Doomsday. The eighth age then begins with Doomsday, at the resurrection of the dead, and represents eternal life.[65] Ælfric thus avoids any heterodox millenarian position concerning the Sabbath age, and this treatment of the seventh age became standard during the later Middle Ages in the exegesis of orthodox theologians. Bonaventure, for example, states that "the seventh age runs concurrently with the sixth, that is, the repose of the souls after Christ's passion. After that comes the eighth age, the resurrection, . . . and it is a return to the first, for after the seventh day, there is a return to the first."[66]

Not all writers were as careful as Augustine, Ælfric, and Bonaventure. Some Christians expected the seventh age to be, not the present state of the righteous dead nor the future eternal life in heaven, but a time of peace and plenty to take place on earth. Lactantius, for example, contrasts the blessings of the final age (seventh) with the contemporary evils of the sixth age. He explains that since God labored for six days and rested on the seventh, truth will need to labor for six thousand years before the thousand-year reign of justice, when Satan will be bound. Early

millenarian interpretations believed that the thousand-year reign would be established by Christ at his Second Advent. Commenting on Creation week, for instance, the *Epistle of Barnabas* states that as Christ made the world in six days, in six thousand years "all things will be brought to an end." Christ will appear then, "put an end to the era of the Lawless One," resurrect the just dead, and establish his kingdom on earth. This millennium is symbolized by the seventh day of creation. The eighth day, celebrated by all Christians because of Christ's return from the grave, then symbolizes eternal life.[67] In this scheme Antichrist is still expected at the end of the sixth age, immediately before Christ institutes his millennial kingdom.



Although the millenarian expectations of the early church and of such heresies as Montanism were overcome by the official Augustinian view of the millennium, in the later Middle Ages some popular millenarian movements expected the thousand-year reign (or a shorter reign in some interpretations) to take place on earth *before* the Second Advent and Doomsday. The kingdom, furthermore, could be established without divine intervention—it was possible for Christians to help usher in the millennium. Norman Cohn, whose *Pursuit of the Millennium* studies late medieval radical millenarian movements, characterizes this interpretation of the millennium as based on a view of salvation that is collective, terrestrial, imminent, total, and miraculous. Naturally, these movements were opposed by the institutional church. Nevertheless, as Cohn argues, millenarianism was a powerful stimulus behind the popular support for the Crusades and for radical political experiments in the later Middle Ages.[68] Such expectations, which insisted on the necessity of action in the contemporary world, could become linked to the fortunes of a popular religious or political leader and sometimes identified Antichrist with contemporary opposing political and religious leaders.

Due to the influence of the sibylline literature and other later medieval prophecies that circulated freely throughout Europe, this popular leader became associated with the expectation of a Last World Emperor. According to these expectations, before

Antichrist begins his rule of terror, a final emperor—a human savior—will establish a rule of the saints resembling the millenarian kingdom of peace and plenty. During this rule the Jews will be converted and all Christianity's enemies will be defeated. The final burst of evil then follows. When the peoples of Gog and Magog are released, the emperor will give up his crown, and Antichrist will set out to deceive the world. Generally, the reign of the emperor is limited to 112 (or 12) years rather than to a thousand years. Yet details of his kingdom resemble the hoped-for millenarian kingdom of the saints.[69] The legend of the Last World Emperor represents a merging of radical expectations of a millennial kingdom on earth with conservative eschatology that interprets the millennium as the age of the church brought to an end by Antichrist's certain reign.

The legend could thereby be developed by orthodox exegetes. In an interesting allegorical comparison of Passion week with the sufferings of the church during the last days, for instance, Honorius of Autun alludes to the messianic characteristics of the Last World Emperor to outline the events of the last days. Referring to the sibyl, Honorius states that Christ's entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday symbolizes the Emperor's journey to Jerusalem in the last days, when he will give up his reign. The three days before Easter represent the three years during which Antichrist will reign. The church offices during the three days thus not only celebrate the events of Christ's Passion but also prefigure the church's future suffering when doctors may no longer preach and the faithful will be filled with great terror. But after Antichrist is killed, many will be baptized, the church will be renewed, and Christ will come in judgment. These glorious events, according to Honorius, are symbolized by Christ's Resurrection.[70] The allegorizing of the liturgy is not unusual, but the association of the Last World Emperor with Christ is significant. It reflects the important influence of sibylline legends on later authors and demonstrates the great extent to which the orthodox in the Middle Ages could expect a messianic emperor in the last days.

The complicating interpretations of the millennium, the ex-

pectation of a messianic leader, and the numerous predictions of Antichrist's imminent appearance are the result of a renewed interest during the later Middle Ages in apocalyptic and prophetic thinking. Gradually, the earlier patristic understanding of Antichrist was transformed by new interpretations, often of the same apocalyptic sources. Perhaps the best example of this transformation is found in the exegesis of Joachim of Fiore, one of the most influential visionaries of the later Middle Ages. He refashions contemporary ideas into a revolutionary philosophy of history. Joachim makes use of many features of the Antichrist tradition, yet develops an eschatology that differs in important respects from the earlier exegetical interpretations. Although he expects Antichrist during an apocalyptic crisis, he lifts him from his usual eschatological context by placing him *before* the millenarian reign of the saints. Joachim argues that his age (late twelfth century) is witnessing the ravages of Antichrist, whose rule will quickly become evident. But he foresees a new age rather than the Second Advent of Christ to follow the defeat of Antichrist. Joachim therefore postpones the *eschaton* by placing Antichrist's defeat long before the end of the world.

Modern studies of Joachim emphasize the complexity of his theories and his widespread influence on the later Middle Ages.[71] His interpretations can be summarized only briefly here. Although Joachim's first work develops concords of twos based on the typological relationship between the Old and the New Testaments, his later work postulates a threefold view of history based on the mystery of the Trinity. Joachim conflates the traditional seven ages into three *status*, each associated with a member of the Trinity and each closed by an Antichrist figure. The first *status* begins with Creation and encompasses most Old Testament history. It represents the age of law, associated with God the Father, and brought to an end by the type of Antichrist the tyrant, Antiochus Epiphanes. The second *status* begins with Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, and ends in the forty-second generation, approximately the year 1260. It represents the age of grace, associated with Christ and the church. Coinciding with the traditional sixth age, it is itself divided into ages

based on the seven seals of Apocalypse 6:1–8:5, and is filled with types of Antichrist. For example, Joachim interprets the seven heads of the dragon as Antichrist-type tyrants who have ruled during the sixth age/second *status*. Five of these tyrants have ruled already, a sixth (Saladin) now rules, and the seventh, Antichrist, may now (i.e., 1190–91) be living in Rome.[72] He will bring the second *status* to its close. The third *status*, a modification of the traditional millennium, is the age of "spiritual men," whose forerunner is Saint Benedict, the great monastic reformer. It represents the age of love, is associated with the Holy Spirit, and is brought to an end by the hordes of Gog and Magog, symbolized by the tail of the dragon. They will be released at the end of the world as the final challenge of evil before the Second Advent of Christ.[73]

Joachim's exegesis carefully avoids the worst type of political polemics. Thus the third *status* is not ushered in by the Last World Emperor. As Marjorie Reeves emphasizes, "there was no place in Joachim's expectations for a Last World Emperor."[74] Although not opposed totally to the Holy Roman Empire, Joachim links Babylon/Rome/Empire to the beasts of Apocalypse 13 and to Antichrist. The *renovatio mundi* to follow Antichrist, therefore, is introduced by spiritual rather than secular leaders. However, when Joachim's ideas became the center of later political and religious controversies, polemicists argued, depending on their own political allegiances, that either a Last World Emperor or an "Angelic Pope" would introduce the millennial new age. Furthermore, by the mid-thirteenth century the *Evangelium aeternum* was hailed as a third testament relevant to the third *status* as the Old and New Testaments were (once?) relevant to the first two *status*. The pseudo-Joachimist *Evangelium* pushes the theories of Joachim considerably beyond his careful exegetical interpretations. It apparently included Joachim's three major works and a heretical commentary by Gerard of Borgo San Donnino, the *Liber introductorius* (1254).[75] In the later Middle Ages, Joachim's ideas became embroiled in heretical and polemical battles, and some were officially condemned by the church.

It is obvious that by the thirteenth century the traditional ex-

egetical interpretation of Antichrist had undergone a radical transformation. Theories concerning Antichrist were complicated by sibylline and other prophetic literature, millennial and political expectations, and the exegesis of Joachim and his followers. Yet even with the several individual interpretations of Antichrist that circulated in the later Middle Ages, the traditional exegetical explanations continued to be influential and to be passed on through encyclopedic and scholastic compilations to later generations. Apparently, Joachim's trinitarian interpretation of history and his prophecy of the third *status* were not at first fully understood. Also, careful later writers skirted the implications of Joachim's trinitarian philosophy of history. His influence was felt mainly by polemicists who often manipulated his ideas for their own purposes. Reeves, while emphasizing Joachim's influence, notes repeatedly that later commentators tend to cite Joachim as a prophet of Antichrist rather than of a third *status* to follow Antichrist.[76] The traditional placement of Antichrist's coming at the end of the sixth age, followed by the Second Advent, was very strongly ingrained in medieval apocalyptic thought. In general, the art and literature portraying Antichrist were equally conservative, for they continue the earlier patristic interpretations and use Joachim mainly as a prophet of the final days and of Antichrist. For example, Eustache Deschamps lists Joachim among sibylline and scriptural prophets of last-day events:

O Sebille de parfont sens garnie,
Et Joachim homme plain de savoir,
Metheode, Daniel, Ezechie,
Bien nous faites no misere savoir.[77]

Multiple Antichrists and Medieval Polemics

The controversies that in time Joachim of Fiore's interpretation of scripture and history fed resulted in an increasingly polemic use of the Antichrist tradition. Prophecies of Antichrist, which flourished in the heat of thirteenth-century controversies, continued throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Orthodox and heretic alike cited interpretations of Antichrist and the legends associated with him to champion specific causes, condemn one another, and predict the last days. This polemical manipulation of apocalyptic complicated the late medieval understanding of Antichrist. Yet it too had its roots in scripture and in earlier patristic exegesis, in the idea that throughout history there have been and will be many Antichrists. Interpretations of 1 John 2:18 ("and now there are many Antichrists") and Matthew 24:5 ("for many will come in my name saying: I am Christ") often argued that anyone who is contrary to Christ, who prizes evil in his heart, who denies the life of Christ by his words and actions is an Antichrist. Discovering Antichrist-like characters in scripture and throughout history, theologians identified types of Antichrist who are, in a special sense, Antichrists. Exegetes also argued that all false and hypocritical Christians are Antichrists, for although they profess Christ, they repudiate him in their everyday activities.

The medieval tradition, therefore, includes two apparently contradictory expectations of Antichrist's appearance—that he will come immediately before the Second Advent of Christ, and that he has already come in the form of many Antichrists. These two views of Antichrist's coming may be partly explained as yet another analogy between Christ and Antichrist. As Jaroslav Pelikan notes, the early church looked upon Christ as "already" and "not yet," both as already present in the Eucharist and yet to appear in judgment.[78] Likewise, Antichrist may be understood as already present in the evil lives of false Christians, heretics, and Jews, and yet to appear as the culmination of all evil before Christ's Second Advent. The dualism that expects Antichrist to lead the body of evil in the last days also may account for the belief in the multiple Antichrists. These are the present opponents of Christ; they represent the body of the devil at war with the body of Christ. They may be in the church, but they are not of Christ. As Beatus explains, the church of Christ is made up of three parts: "In fact, Christians, whether good or evil, are called one Church. But that Church which appears one, has three parts: that is, one part the very Church which imitates Christ,

the other two parts those which war against the Church, that is, heretics and evil Christians."[79]

Usually the church was contrasted with those "not of us," with those who are contemporary Antichrists.[80] The world is divided into two great parts comprising the people of Christ and the people of the devil. No other option exists. However, the devil's followers can be divided into four specific groups: evil Christians, pagans, Jews, and heretics. Since the church is the body of Christ, anyone who denies the church denies Christ and is therefore Antichrist. During the early church, and then later when Islam threatened Christianity, "pagans" were attacked as Antichrists. A more popular medieval tradition identified the Jews as Antichrists and the synagogue as the church of Antichrist. The Jews had been God's chosen people and yet had denied Christ (John 5:43). As Agobard of Lyons (769–840) states, "In this, therefore, the Jews rival the wickedness of Antichrist, because they dared to deny that Jesus was the Christ."[81] This assumed relationship between the Jews and the leader of evil is typical of the anti-Judaic tendencies evident throughout the medieval Antichrist tradition.

In the early church Christian writers most often pointed to heretics as contemporary Antichrists, identifications that anticipate the polemics of later times. Tertullian, for example, asks who are the pseudo-prophets, the false apostles, the Antichrists, if not the heretics who torment the church no less than will Antichrist.[82] Exegetes sometimes identified three major "persecutions" of the church preceding Antichrist's great persecution of the last days. These times of trouble resemble the periods of church history outlined in interpretations of the opening of the second, third, and fourth seals of Apocalypse 6:3–8 (see chapter 1, page 19). The first "persecution" is by the pagans before the establishment of the church; the second, by great heresies; and the third, by the hypocrites who infiltrate the church. To early Christians the heretics are the most dangerous. They are described as warring against the church, trying to destroy God's body by introducing false doctrine. As early as in Polycarp's *Epistle to the Philippians* (ca. 135) and Irenaeus' *Contra haereses*, spe-

cific heretics and heresies are identified as Antichrists. These include Marcion, Valentinus, Gnosticism, Docetism, Montanism, Donatism, and Arianism. In his *Vita* of Saint Anthony, Athanasius tells how the saint attacked the Arians as "the worst of all and a forerunner of the Antichrist."[83] Later, Nicholas of Lyra comments concerning 1 John 2:18 that the Antichrists are "all heretics, all who confessing faith in words, destroy it in deeds."[84] It is therefore clear that from the earliest writers Christians held two separate expectations concerning the appearance of Antichrist. They modified their expectation of his appearance before the Second Advent of Christ with the belief that many Antichrists were already present in the world persecuting the church.

These two expectations are most clearly evident in the writings of Augustine. His influence on medieval theology is so well documented that it need not be discussed here other than to note that in the later Middle Ages, along with Jerome, he is the most quoted writer on Antichrist.[85] Augustine makes use of both expectations. On the one hand, he explains in *City of God*, 20, how Antichrist will come during the final eschatological crisis. The passage includes many of the standard features of the tradition: Antichrist is Satan's agent, the great false prophet of the beast (the godless city), the leader of the devil's final persecution of the faithful. In his sermons on the Johannine epistles, on the other hand, Augustine develops the second expectation of multiple Antichrists already living. All heretics and schismatics, all who work both within and without to destroy church harmony, all who leave the church (i.e., the Donatists) are Antichrists, and to identify them Augustine urges the faithful to look at deeds and not at words. Few outwardly deny Christ, he explains. Yet anyone who is against the word of God, even the individual sinner, is an Antichrist. The church is therefore currently filled with Antichrists—those who, even while wishing to be Christians, deny Christ by their actions. They include perjurers, cheaters, evildoers, soothsayers, adulterers, drunkards, usurers, slave dealers. "For the Word of God is Christ: whatsoever is contrary to the Word of God is in Antichrist."[86] All who violate the

principles of charity, all who resist the reproof of the church and its leaders, all who are puffed up (in contrast to Christ's example of humility) are Antichrists.

This interpretation of Antichrist is really quite different from the interpretation of a historical Antichrist expected to appear at the end of the world. The interpretation, in its spiritualization of eschatology, is similar to Augustine's explanation of the millennial kingdom of the righteous, which is to be Christ's church on earth. Yet Augustine develops both expectations of Antichrist. In his theology they belong side by side; each is used to suit a purpose. In the *City of God* Antichrist plays an important role as a leader of the godless city. He is necessary to Augustine's explanation of salvation history. In the sermons the numerous Antichrists are homiletically useful as a means of identifying the heretics and sinners who presently oppose God's church.

The belief that multiple Antichrists are present in the world and that they are to be identified with heretics and opponents of the church is an early source for the later polemical development of the Antichrist tradition. The Adoptionist controversy of the late eighth century further illustrates this early use of Antichrist for theological argument. Basically, Adoptionism holds that although Christ as divine is the natural Son of God, as man on earth he was God's adopted son. First taught by Elipandus, the Archbishop of Toledo (ca. 785), Adoptionism was condemned violently by Beatus, the Spanish monk best known for his commentary on the Apocalypse. Along with Etherius, the bishop of Osma, Beatus wrote the *Ad Elipandum epistola,* attacking Elipandus as Antichrist: "You say that Jesus is not the Son of God. . . . Behold, he who denies that Jesus is the Son of God is Antichrist. . . ."[87] The attack continues, speaking vaguely of false prophets and Antichrists in the church. It is an interesting document because it draws upon the biblical Antichrist texts to attack an opponent and, significantly, because Beatus and Etherius also defend themselves against Elipandus, who apparently earlier has called them Antichrists. Later polemical writers especially developed this type of mutual name-calling in their attacks on opposing political and theological writers.

Polemical interpretations of Antichrist are not always self-serving. Many reflect sincere attempts to explain confusing contemporary events. As Henri de Lubac shows, the polemical uses of Antichrist result from the medieval desire to actualize scripture by taking biblical images and applying them to fresh circumstances.[88] These circumstances change, of course, so interpretations could change as well. They could be national, political, or theological circumstances. The *Pseudo-Methodius,* for example, condemns Islam and predicts that in the last days the children of Ishmael will rise against Rome to commit numerous atrocities, merciless killings, and adulterous acts. Other writers, such as John of Damascus (d. 749) and Alvarus of Cordova, also identify Islam as Antichrist. In his *Indicolus luminosus* (854), Alvarus discusses the prophecies of Daniel 7 to argue that although the little horn originally represented Antiochus Epiphanes, the type of Antichrist, it now also represents Mohammed, the precursor of Antichrist. Like the little horn, Islam grows in power and overcomes three nations—the Greeks, the French, and the western Goths. Islam also proudly fights against the faith of the Trinity.[89] Poets and exegetes continued this identification of Islam with Antichrist. During the crusades and long after the crusading spirit had died, the Saracens were described as Antichrists and the forces of Gog and Magog. They were also associated with the other symbols of Antichrist. To Joachim of Fiore, for example, the Saracens represented the fourth and sixth heads of the dragon and the persecutors of the church to appear at the time of the opening of the fourth seal (Apoc. 6:7–8). Pope Innocent III associated them with the seven-headed beast of Apocalypse 13. Calling for yet another crusade in 1213, Innocent interpreted the number of the beast, 666, to represent the number of years Mohammedanism is to remain powerful, and concluded that the Saracens would therefore soon be destroyed.[90] Of course, Islam did not disappear in the thirteenth century, and Christians continued to identify it with Antichrist in the later Middle Ages. The fall of Constantinope (1453) thus particularly proved ominous to western Europeans. The Turks became "ce tres furieux dragon, le Turc infi-

delle, le prince des tenebres, le patron de tirannie, le pere des mescreans sathalietes, le filz de perdition, le disciple de Mahommet, le messagier de Antechrist. . . ."[91]

Both parties of the papal-imperial controversies of the thirteenth century manipulated Antichrist polemics, especially after Gregory IX excommunicated Frederick II for the second time (1239). On the one hand, a pseudo-Joachimist drawing identifies Frederick II as the seventh head of the dragon. After the death of Frederick, papal polemicists comdemned the whole Hohenstaufen line and feared a plot by the empire and the Saracen to establish a pseudo-pope. Italian Joachimists also predicted a "third Frederick," who would arise to finish the evil begun by Frederick II. On the other hand, antipapal polemicists considered Pope Sylvester to be the first Antichrist for accepting the Donation of Constantine, and pro-imperial apologists pictured Frederick II as the Last World Emperor, who would defeat Christianity's enemies and bring in a reign of justice. After Frederick's death, German Joachimists championed a "third Frederick," who would reign as world emperor. The complex polemics, in which opponents on both sides claimed authority from Joachim's writings and from treatises falsely attributed to Joachim, cannot be detailed here. They are traced by Marjorie Reeves in *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*.[92]

Pro-French polemicists of the late Middle Ages also interpreted Antichrist and the legends associated with his appearance to predict a French Last World Emperor, a *Carolus redivivus*. The writings of Jean de Roquetaillade, who became a Franciscan in 1332, illustrate the extreme uses of Antichrist in later polemics, in this case to champion the French cause. Jean states that he can now interpret with the help of God what Joachim of Fiore saw only as a shadow. He identifies Frederick II, Louis of Sicily, Louis of Bavaria, Peter of Aragon, the Italian Ghibellines, and the "false pope" with Antichrist, the beasts of the Apocalypse, and the numerous pseudo-prophets of the last days. A French king, he prophesies, will become the Last World Emperor and ultimately help the Angelic Pope overcome Anti-

christ. First, however, Christians must endure the dominion of evil. In his *Vade mecum in tribulatione* (1356), Jean discusses the coming of two Antichrists, a millennium of peace, Gog and Magog, a final Antichrist, and Enoch and Elias.[93] He predicts that as the power of the French king temporarily weakens, the world from 1360 to 1365 will suffer many catastrophes. Infidels will fight against the true church and devastate Italy, Hungary, Poland, and parts of Germany for forty-two months. A new Nero, a heretical emperor, will arise as an Antichrist and reign for three and one-half years. The church will suffer persecutions from about 1350 to 1410 or 1420, after which the millennium will be established.

Political and national disputes are not the only sources of the polemical interpretations of Antichrist. The Franciscan appropriation of Joachim's expected "spiritual men" and the claims of the *Evangelium aeternum* to replace the Old and New Testaments led to numerous religious polemics. On the one hand, the "polemical exegesis" of William of Saint Amour (d. 1272) refuted the claims of the fraternal orders that they represented the "spiritual men" who were expected to usher in Joachim's third *status*. William's work became a major source for much later medieval antifraternal polemics.[94] On the other hand, the Spiritual Franciscan leader, Pietro Olivi (ca. 1248–98)—labeled Antichrist by his enemies and the seventh angel of the Apocalypse by his supporters—expected Antichrist to become pope, and Ubertino da Casale (1259–ca. 1338), who considered Francis and Dominic to be the heralds of Christ's Second Coming, identified Popes Boniface VIII and Benedict XI with the two beasts of Apocalypse 13.[95] Naturally, the organized church could not accept such views. Olivi's writings were later (1326) condemned by John XXII, whom Olivi's supporter, Michael of Cesena, accused of being the forerunner of Antichrist. Because John XXII condemned the Spiritual Franciscan doctrine of poverty, the Spirituals identified him as the "mystical Antichrist."[96] According to the inquisitor Bernard Gui (ca. 1261–1331), the Beguins, another group claiming to be Joachim's "spiritual men," expected

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both a mystical and a real Antichrist. The mystical Antichrist they identified as the pope, who is a wolf, a blind prophet, a Caiaphas, and a Herod.[97]

Continuing the example of the early church, the orthodox during the later Middle Ages also condemned heretics as Antichrists. The *Chronique* of Ademar of Chabannes (998–1034), for example, describes certain "Manichaeans" in Aquitaine as "ambassadors of Antichrist," whereas the Canons of Utrech (ca. 1112–14) labeled Tanchelm of Antwerp as "our Antichrist, who disturbs and blasphemes the Church of Christ. . . ."[98] Not surprisingly, heretics returned the name-calling. William the Goldsmith, a notorious heretic living at the beginning of the thirteenth century, for example, identified the pope as Antichrist, Rome as Babylon, and prelates as members of Antichrist.[99] Similar attacks on the papacy multiplied in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when reformers and heretics condemned papal corruption and worldliness.

The late Middle Ages is especially noted for the development of a Czech reform movement that attacked ecclesiastical abuses and identified Antichrist in the church. As mentioned earlier, Jan Milic, the archdeacon of Prague, preached that Antichrist had arrived in 1367. His work greatly influenced the studies of Matthew of Janov, whose *Regulae veteris et novi testamenti* divides the church into two parts representing the mystical body of Christ and the body of Antichrist. In the influential third book of the *Regulae*, "De Antichristo," Matthew denies that the pagans and Jews are Antichrist and argues that he is expected to come from *within* the church. Matthew felt that Antichrist is now present in the church as evidenced by the numerous hypocrites, heretics, and false Christians who fight against Christ. Identifying the "abomination of desolation" with the claims of the competing papacies at Avignon and Rome, Matthew complains that now the French claim, "Here is Christ," the Italians counter, "Here is Christ and not elsewhere," and even the Greeks argue "Not there, not elsewhere, but here with us is Christ."[100] But Matthew of Janov especially condemns members of the priesthood, whose evil is worse than that of the common people and

whose sins become ever greater as their rank and responsibilities in the church become more important.[101] Such criticisms of the church take a more radical turn, furthermore, with the writings of John Huss (ca. 1369–1415). Huss also referred to the pope, when not virtuous, as the "messenger of Antichrist," and his influence upon the Czech radicals was such that in the polemics of the time, "the figure of Antichrist must have become an all but palpable epitome of all who were loyal to the papal and Roman establishment."[102] An interesting example of the continuing polemics and propaganda uses of Antichrist by the Hussites is the *Tabule veteris et novi coloris* (ca. 1412) of Nicholas of Dresden, which in one illustrated version portrays Antichrist in papal regalia surrounded by whores.[103]

The sermons of Wyclif (d. 1384) identify the friars as the disciples of Antichrist and the pope as Antichrist. Wyclif is not interested in the full "life" of Antichrist as developed, for example, in Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo* (see chapter 3). Instead, he draws upon those features associated with Antichrist that he can relate to contemporary events and that illustrate the evils of the church. Of the 294 sermons on the gospels and epistles usually ascribed to Wyclif, sixty, or better than 20 percent, mention Antichrist. Wyclif may even see himself as filling the role of Elias, although he makes no claim to be a prophet. He attacks the friars, the papacy, and certain unnamed bishops as Antichrist. Explaining that a great bishop of England opposes the availability of scripture in English and persecutes the translators of the Bible, he exclaims: "O men þat ben on Cristis half, helpe ȝe now aȝens Anticrist! For þe perilous tyme is comen þat Crist and Poul telden bifore." He then proceeds to identify three "sects" who support Antichrist against Christians. "Þe firste is þe pope and cardinals, bi fals law þat han made; þe secounde is emperours bishopis, whiche dispisen Cristis lawe; þe þridde is þes Pharisees, possessioners and beggeris."[104] As Gordon Leff states, in Wyclif's later work "the presence of Antichrist becomes all-pervasive in every aspect of the visible church."[105] Under Wyclif's influence, later Lollard tracts continue to identify the papacy and the hierarchical church with Antichrist and his pseudo-pro-

phets. For example, the Lollard polemic "On the Twenty-five Articles," written after Wyclif's death (ca. 1388), uses the term Antichrist repeatedly to describe members and regulations of the established church: "Antecristis heretiks," "Anticristus clerkis," "son of Anticriste," "Anticristis ordynaunce," "jurisdiccione of Anticrist," "Anticristis tirauntry," "Anticristis power," "heresies of Anticriste," and "Anticristis chyrche."[106]

The polemical interpretation of Antichrist, therefore, became a typical feature of late medieval controversies. Such interpretations continued into the Reformation and find a place in Protestant anti-Catholicism even in the twentieth century. Although based on earlier interpretations, this polemical manipulation of Antichrist for the primary purpose of attacking an opponent represents a radical modification of the Antichrist tradition from its earlier exegetical emphasis on explaining the events of the last days. However, not all later medieval discussions of Antichrist reflect this radical change. The transformation of earlier exegetical interpretations of Antichrist can be exaggerated too easily if scholars devote attention only to the radical and polemical writers of the period. It is true that many late medieval writers investigated sibylline and other prophetic literature to emphasize millennial expectations and to foresee a Joachimist third *status*, which would follow a contemporary identified Antichrist. Yet many others continued the conservative patristic discussions of the scriptural sources, the events of the last days, and the deeds of Antichrist, sometimes even citing the prophecies of Joachim as evidence of the imminent end rather than of a third *status*. It is misleading to overemphasize the polemical interpretations and to see Antichrist in the later Middle Ages as "a mere term of abuse."[107] Expectations of the end, even in many polemical tracts, continued to be influential. Schoolmen, historians, and poets confidently identified the signs of the last days with astronomical and historical events and expected an imminent Second Advent. As one Wyclifite tract notes, "þe day of jugement, þat is present to God, is ful neye bisidis us, and tyme mut nede come. . . ."[108] These eschatological expectations, of course, include the appearance of Antichrist. In much medieval think-

ing he remained an apocalyptic figure expected before Doomsday. It is this conservative exegetical interpretation of Antichrist that much medieval literature and art develops and that chapter 3 describes and organizes.

CHAPTER 3

The Life and Deeds of Antichrist

As this study has emphasized, in the Middle Ages Antichrist was an important apocalyptic figure who played a crucial role in Christian eschatology. This chapter now specifically analyzes the medieval understanding of who Antichrist will be and what he will do. By the tenth century, discussions of Antichrist's life were extremely detailed. As explained in chapters 1 and 2, these details were derived from interpretations of the actions of the various symbols and types of Antichrist discovered in the tradition's numerous sources. Because of the wide variety of these symbols and types, medieval exegetes described two apparently contradictory natures of Antichrist. Depending upon the exegete's source and purpose, he described Antichrist sometimes as a ruthless tyrant who will persecute Christians and other times as a hypocrite who deceives the righteous by pretending to be Christ.

Antichrist's tyrannical power rests on his leadership of barbaric armies, his military defeat of good kings, and his persecution of the faithful who oppose him. Such a view of Antichrist is derived from the actions of the beast that rises from the abyss (Apoc. 11), of the beast that rises from the sea (Apoc. 13:1), and of the little horn (Dan. 7). Also, the actions of Antichrist's types, especially of Antiochus Epiphanes and Nero, influenced the medieval portrayal of Antichrist as a tyrant. This conception of his nature emphasizes his brutality and persecution and explains him as the last great temporal opponent of the church.

As a pseudo-Christ, Antichrist's power rests on the deception of his false prophets, symbolized by the two-horned beast that rises from the earth (Apoc. 13:11), and on his own pretense to be Christ (Matt. 24:5). Such interpretations emphasize Antichrist's parodic imitation of Christ's life. As medieval commenta-

tors recognized apparent similarities between the events of Christ's and Antichrist's lives, they added details to the Antichrist legend not originally found in the apocalyptic sources. Explanations of Antichrist's birth, for example, reflect a conscious effort to portray Antichrist as a parodic antitype of Christ. Antichrist's mother, according to the legend, is possessed by the devil, so that her child will be born thoroughly evil, in contrast to Christ, whose mother was possessed by the Holy Spirit. This particular feature of the tradition is based on the comparison of Antichrist with Christ, not upon a specific scriptural text. The view of Antichrist as a pseudo-Christ, then, distinguishes between his outward goodness and his internal deception and explains him as the last great spiritual opponent of the church. Early exegetical comments already compared Antichrist to Christ, and the comparisons became so well established by the third century that Origen, for example, was able to reverse them. Rather than explaining Antichrist by referring to Christ, Origen refers to Antichrist to make a point concerning Christ. In an interesting allegorical comment, he states that just as many Antichrists are presently in the world, so are many "Christs," that is, those who love justice and hate iniquity.[1]

The Simon Magus legend also influenced the portrayal of Antichrist as a pseudo-Christ. In apocryphal and other early Christian literature, Simon is a false prophet who, to frustrate the ministry of Peter and Paul, denies that Jesus is Christ and claims himself to be Christ. As the *Pseudo-Clementine Homily 2* notes, Simon deceives many Christians who do not realize that he "uses piety merely as pretence. . . ."[2] Like Antichrist, Simon is possessed by the devil. Descriptions of his various wonders, his sham raising of the dead, and his attempted ascension into heaven are quite detailed and may very well be a source for the later medieval elaborations of Antichrist's life. Certainly, Simon and Antichrist are closely associated in medieval thought. For example, an Old English homily of a late eleventh-century manuscript interrupts a discussion of Antichrist to describe the past life of Simon as a warning of the future terrors of Antichrist. It refers to "þe deofles menn" who have performed wonders in the

past, as Antichrist will do in the future. After detailing Simon's miraculous deeds, the homily returns to Antichrist, whose own wonders are illustrated by those of his type.[3]

Of course, since Antichrist only imitates the outward forms of Christ's life, it is possible to reconcile the two natures of Antichrist. As Origen states, Antichrist takes Christ's name, but does not imitate his good works, truth, or wisdom.[4] He is essentially the opposite of Christ, pretending to imitate the Savior in order to deceive the world more effectively. Although apparently like Christ, Antichrist is actually "Christo contrarius." To most exegetes, the proof lay in Antichrist's name. In what became a very influential discussion of the name, Isidore of Seville emphasizes the distinction between "ante" and "anti" and explains that, although Antichrist will appear before Christ's Second Advent, his name in the Greek means "contrary to Christ."[5] Antichrist is thus both a tyrant and a pseudo-Christ.

Exegetes continually discuss Antichrist's false imitation of Christ, so that, although comparing the two, they actually emphasize the contrasts between Antichrist and Christ. Antichrist is to Christ as darkness is to light, death to immortality, Babylon to Bethlehem. As Christ is the lamb, Antichrist is the wolf; as Christ is the incarnation of goodness, Antichrist is the incarnation of evil. As peace preceded Christ's birth, discord precedes Antichrist's birth. As Christ is the good shepherd, Antichrist is the "stultus pastor"; as Christ is the true judge, Antichrist is the evil judge. To the Old English homilists, Antichrist is the source of lies and evil who drives men from the faith. To Ælfric, he is the "ðwyrlic Crist," contrary-Christ. To Wulfstan, he is the "þeodlicetere," the arch-hypocrite and deceiver.[6] In a striking passage Rupert of Deutz summarizes Antichrist's contrary nature: "This is Christ, who shed his own blood. This is Antichrist, who shed other blood."[7] According to Rupert, Antichrist replaces Christ's humility and sacrifice with pride and tyranny.

By the tenth century these two conceptions of Antichrist as both a pseudo-Christ and a tyrant were combined by Abbot Adso of Montier-en-Der (ca. 910–92) in his *Libellus de Antichristo* (ca. 954).[8] Adso's work, which reflects the tenth century's de-

tailed knowledge of Antichrist, became one of the most influential compilations of Antichrist lore. Adso was not an original thinker, yet his *Libellus* made an important contribution to the later development of the tradition because it organized the great variety of beliefs concerning Antichrist and passed them on to the later Middle Ages. In discussing Antichrist's life, Adso develops many details that are based on a parodic imitation of Christ—Antichrist's birth, journey to Jerusalem, appointment of disciples, and working of miracles. Adso also portrays Antichrist's tyranny, emphasizing his persecution of the faithful and execution of Enoch and Elias. He further synthesizes the traditional exegetical interpretations with some sibylline legends, such as the expected Last World Emperor. But the most important feature of the *Libellus* is its organization of the Antichrist tradition so that its numerous details center on the life of Antichrist from birth to death. In other words, Adso develops a coherent *vita* of Antichrist. Although it includes much exegetical material, the *Libellus* in many ways resembles the popular saints' *vitae*.[9] In this form the *Libellus* helped establish the standard medieval understanding of Antichrist and greatly influenced later theological discussions and artistic and literary portrayals.

That the standard exegetical interpretation of Antichrist organized by Adso remained influential in the later Middle Ages is evident in two encyclopedic works, the *Compendium theologicae veritatis* (ca. 1265) of Hugh Ripelin of Strassburg (d. 1268), and the *Tractatus de victoria Christi contra Antichristum* (1319) of Hugh of Newcastle (1280–1322).[10] The *Compendium*, sometimes ascribed to Albertus Magnus or Thomas Aquinas, was an influential textbook in the later Middle Ages. Appropriately, its book 7 places Antichrist in eschatological perspective. The book opens with a chapter on the end of the world and closes with descriptions of the resurrection of the dead, the Last Judgment, and hell. Chapters 7 through 14 describe Antichrist and his career, detailing exegetical explanations of his birth, miracles, persecution, and death, and including the related legends of Gog and Magog and Enoch and Elias. Immediately following, chapter 15 describes the conflagration of the world.

Hugh of Newcastle similarly synthesizes the Antichrist tradition. Although he draws upon numerous sources, including Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Isidore, the *Pseudo-Methodius*, and the *Glossa ordinaria*, Hugh's basic understanding remains that described by Adso. The *Tractatus*, which is much longer than Adso's *Libellus*, adds new details, some borrowed from contemporary interpretations. Even though Hugh is aware of the exegesis of Joachim of Fiore and actually discusses some Joachimist expectations, his treatment of Antichrist's life is essentially conservative. In his preface Hugh states that for fear of being labeled a false prophet he has added nothing of his own to his explanations of Antichrist. As a result of this lack of originality, the *Tractatus* is a useful summary of late medieval expectations of Antichrist, although not an exciting work itself. It is divided into two books, the first dealing with Antichrist's career to the coming of Enoch and Elias and the second describing their preaching and subsequent events until the Last Judgment. The appearance of the two prophets divides the last things. Before they preach, Antichrist's power grows to its height, but after their preaching, his power declines and he is destroyed. The Fifteen Signs of Doomsday and finally the Last Judgment follow. The *Tractatus* therefore places Antichrist firmly in his eschatological context.

The following summary describes the medieval beliefs concerning Antichrist as developed by commentators and portrayed in art and literature between the tenth and the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is a composite of numerous details that draws upon no single source but from a wide variety of explanations beginning with early church commentaries and continuing with the compendia of the later Middle Ages. In attempting to synthesize the various interpretations, this summary resembles Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo* and Hugh of Strassburg's *Compendium theologicae veritatis*. In its organization, it parallels Hugh of Newcastle's *Tractatus de victoria Christi contra Antichristum*. Of course, no particular medieval work includes all of the details set forth below; few works include even most of the details. Medieval writers generally discuss Antichrist while commenting on a

specific text or on a particular event and do not try to synthesize the various interpretations. The "inconsistencies" that this summary notes are therefore somewhat artificial. They were not a problem for most commentators, although a few, like Adso and Hugh of Newcastle, tried to reconcile contradictory explanations and to find a proper place for the wide variety of details associated with Antichrist's life.

Birth and Parentage of Antichrist

One of the most pervasive beliefs concerning Antichrist is that he will be born a Jew. As Christ's opponent, prefigured and symbolized in the Old Testament, Antichrist is identified continually as a Jew who, pretending to be the Messiah, will attempt to take the place of Christ. This identification is evident in the harsh anti-Judaic language typical of interpretations of Antichrist. For example, the beast that rises out of the abyss (Apoc. 11:7) according to one commentator represents Antichrist, who comes "from the bottomless impiety of the Jewish people."[11] As in the Old French play *Jour du Jugement* (ca. 1330), the Jews are often characterized as Antichrist's agents. In the play the Jewish characters, such as Mossez, Marquim, and Malaquim, advise Antichrist, ridicule Christians, and plot the death of Enoch and Elias. In art Antichrist's followers sometimes wear the Jew's badge or the pointed hat. The eleventh-century Tortosa Jewry Oath contains a renunciation of Judaism that identifies the Jewish Messiah with Antichrist. Gregory the Great's statement is also typical of exegetical comments: "The tabernacle of Antichrist is the love of treachery, which speaks against the faith of the redeemer. In which tabernacle the Jews now excessively persist; hence, as long as they lovingly inhabit the place of their treachery, they fight against the redeemer."[12]

Specifically, the medieval tradition expects Antichrist to be born in the tribe of Dan. It is interesting that in Jewish tradition Dan is the tribe of the mother of the long-awaited Messiah. Since Dan is also noted for its idol worship, the medieval Christian easily identified it with Antichrist, the Jewish pseudo-Messiah. Ac-

cording to R. H. Charles, Antichrist is first linked with Dan in the first-century addition to *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Later commentators interpreted Jacob's benediction of Dan as a prophecy of Antichrist: Dan is to be a viper in the road and a snake in the pathway (Gen. 49:17). As a result, the relationship between Dan, Antichrist, and the serpent is repeatedly emphasized in medieval thought. For example, Rabanus Maurus, discussing the serpent in his encyclopedia, *De universo*, identifies the serpent with the devil and Antichrist and refers to Jacob's "prophecy" concerning Dan.[13] Dan's description as a lion's cub in Deuteronomy 33:22 and the reference to the stallions of Dan in Jeremiah 8:16 also support the medieval condemnation of Dan. One commentary notes, for example, that the viper represents death, the serpent sin, the lion Antichrist, and the dragon the devil. Other commentators, from Irenaeus through Richard of Saint Victor, argue that Dan is omitted from the list of the 144,000 remnant of Apocalypse 7:4–8 because, as the tribe of Antichrist, Dan will not be saved.[14]

Commentators also identify the place of Antichrist's birth. Because of the numerous apocalyptic condemnations of Babylon and its symbolic representation of evil, Babylon is often chosen as Antichrist's birthplace. Jerome explains that although Antichrist will certainly be a Jew, he will be born in Babylon.[15] That this belief became the standard medieval expectation is evident in the famous Messina meeting between Joachim of Fiore and Richard the Lionhearted. When Joachim explained that Antichrist might be then living in Rome, Richard countered: "I thought that Antichrist would be born in Babylon."[16] However, the *Pseudo-Methodius* sets forth a distinctive sibylline theory of Antichrist's birthplace. It expects Antichrist to be born in Chorozaim, then to be reared in Bethsaida, and finally to rule in Capernaum.[17] This interpretation is based on Christ's words (Luke 10:13, 15), "Woe to you, Chorozaim! Woe to you, Bethsaida!. . . And you Capernaum, exalted all the way to heaven and dragged down all the way to hell."

Troubled by these inconsistencies, some later writers tried to explain how it is possible for Antichrist to originate from both

Babylon and Palestine. Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo*, attempting to synthesize the patristic and sibylline interpretations, describes Antichrist as born of the Jews, from the tribe of Dan, in the city of Babylon. To Adso, Chorozaim and Bethsaida are Antichrist's childhood homes.[18] Hugh of Newcastle, discussing Antichrist's birthplace, is also bothered by the conflicting interpretations. He notes that "beatus methodius" disagrees with the *Glossa ordinaria.* Hugh solves the problem by expanding on the traditional portrayal of Antichrist as pseudo-Christ, rationalizing Antichrist's origins to parallel Christ's. He suggests that as Christ was conceived in Nazareth but was born in Bethlehem, so will Antichrist be conceived in Chorozaim but be born in Babylon.[19] In its description of Galilee, *Mandeville's Travels* (late fourteenth century) exemplifies how these scholarly questions influenced even popular vernacular literature. The *Travels* describes Capernaum, Chorozaim, and Bethsaida as the places from which Antichrist will arise, but notes that Babylon is the place of Antichrist's birth.[20] The exegetical and sibylline interpretations are thereby placed side by side. That they influenced one another is evident in two later manuscripts of the *Pseudo-Methodius* that cleverly solve the problem by merely equating Chorozaim and Babylon.[21]

There are basically two medieval interpretations of the engendering of Antichrist. The first and most common with commentators holds that Antichrist will be conceived by human parents. The mother and father may be terrible sinners and adulterers, a hypocritical monk or an evil nun, but they are not devils. Antichrist's conception is therefore not supernatural. Adso especially underscores this fact: "For he is born by the joining between a father and a mother, as other men, not, as some say, from a virgin alone."[22] Yet as Adso notes, "from the beginning of his conception, the devil will enter into his mother's womb and by the strength of the devil he will be fostered and protected in his mother's belly. . . ."[23] Even before his birth, therefore, Antichrist will be devil possessed, and it is through the power of devils that he will accomplish all his miracles and deception.

The second interpretation of Antichrist's conception traces

this devil-possession to his parentage. This view, which is found mainly in popular vernacular accounts, holds that Antichrist will be conceived by an evil spirit and a whore—an obvious satanic parody of Christ's incarnation. The *Jour du Jugement*, for example, portrays a council of devils scheming to send a devil to Babylon where, after taking the form of a youth, he seduces a Jewish whore. Later, after Antichrist's birth, Satan sends two devils to educate the child and the Jewish mother quite willingly gives him up to their supervision.[24] Berengier's *De l'avenement Antecrist* (early thirteenth century) notes that Antichrist is born in Babylon from an incestuous relationship between the devil and his whorish daughter.[25] This interpretation of Antichrist's parentage takes literally Antichrist's epithet, "son of the devil." However, most theologians prefer to use this phrase metaphorically. As Haimo of Auxerre, Adso, and Peter Lombard note, Antichrist is the son of the devil, "not through nature, but through imitation."[26]

The uncertainty concerning Antichrist's parentage illustrates the difficulties commentators faced in defining the exact relationship existing between Antichrist and the devil. Both characters are described as the "caput omnia malorum" and the leaders of the armies of pride. The symbols of Apocalpyse 13 are sometimes applied to both. Often there is implied, as in Hugh of Strassburg (*Compendium*, 7.8), an "Antichristus, id est diabolus" relationship. This equating of the two is particularly evident in vernacular accounts. The Old English *Vercelli Homilies* refer to "that great devil Antichrist." Even Ælfric and Wulfstan, more careful theologians, may have conceived of Antichrist as the devil incarnate, for they call him "the visible devil." They also compare his nature to the double nature of Christ and describe Antichrist as "natural man and true devil."[27] Generally, however, commentators reject the possibility that Antichrist will be the devil incarnate and conclude that he will be "natural man, whom the devil nevertheless will possess. . . ."[28] Often the relationship between Antichrist and the devil parallels that between Christ and Father, Antichrist's parody of Christ extending to

this "father-son" relationship. Firmicus Maternus (mid-fourth century), for example, states that the devil has his "Christs," that is, his Antichrists. Usually, as in Augustine, Antichrist is merely described as the human agent of the devil.[29] He will be a man of evil, born of Jewish parents and then possessed by the devil. These various medieval beliefs concerning the birth of Antichrist are summarized neatly in one stanza from a ninth-century Latin lyric:

> Antichristus est venturus permitente domino
> In Babilonia nascetur conceptus de diabolo
> Dan de tribu erit ortus ex Ebreorum populo.[30]

Signs and Events Preceding Antichrist's Rule

The medieval tradition holds that a number of terrible events or "signs" will precede Antichrist's rise to power. Some of these are natural calamities or the expected increase in the power of the vices that accompany the events of the last days. Others are political disasters, such as the fall of Rome and the release of Gog and Magog. Generally, the signs are not organized according to specific events to take place in a specific order on specific days. For example, the signs of Antichrist are distinct from the apocryphal tradition that was developed in the *Apocalypse of Thomas* and some Old English homilies and that expects seven signs to take place in the week preceding Doomsday.[31] Furthermore, although Antichrist is often associated with the legend of the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday, the general signs of Antichrist should not be confused with the Fifteen Signs. As William Heist shows, the Fifteen Signs form a distinct tradition in their own right.[32] Although at least five versions of the legend exist, the Fifteen Signs do not vary greatly in content or order from one version to another. Attributed in the Middle Ages to Jerome, they are usually placed, as in Hugh of Newcastle (*Tractatus*, 2:10), immediately following the death of Antichrist. A similar ordering of final events is typical of the fifteenth-century illus-

trated *vitae* of Antichrist and of vernacular literature, including the Middle High German *Entecrist*, the Old French *De l'avenement Antecrist*, and the Middle English *Cursor Mundi*.[33]

Usually exegetes describe signs expected before the appearance of Antichrist in general terms; the tradition never developed a standard sequence of specific signs. However, Christ's words in the synoptic apocalypse provide a basis for certain signs that are repeated continually in discussions of Antichrist. The signs of Antichrist are expected immediately before his birth or before his reign and persecution. That these general signs are distinct from the other legendary signs is evident in the Middle English *Pricke of Conscience* and *Cursor Mundi*. They introduce their "lives" of Antichrist with general warnings of the end and then follow the death of Antichrist with the "fifteen tokens."[34]

The most popular sign of the end is the universal moral and religious decay resulting in a great increase of evil. Men will prefer evil to good and their own desires to God's will, so that there will be a general "cooling of love" (Matt. 24:12). The holy places of God will be polluted with blasphemy, fornication, and murder. Decay in the church will be prevalent, for evil priests, prophets, and teachers will deceive Christians. Polemical works, such as William of Saint Amour's *De Antichristo et eius ministris*, particularly brand evil ecclesiastics as precursors of Antichrist. Similarly, *Piers Plowman* envisions the attack of Antichrist as an internal weakening of the church, Unity, by the vicious clergy.[35] Sloth leads more than a thousand proud priests against Conscience; furthermore, the friars are instrumental in overwhelming the church for Antichrist. General disasters in nature also signal the appearance of Antichrist and reflect the great increase of vice in man. One sibylline-inspired source, the *Pseudo-Ephrem* (late sixth century) predicts that as the end of the world approaches, wars, commotions, terrible earthquakes, disorders, tempests, pestilences, famines, thirst, persecutions, massacres, murders, fear, panic, dread, and anxiety will increase everywhere.[36]

Medieval commentators also expected the release of Gog and

Magog before the reign of Antichrist. Two versions of this legend are linked with Antichrist. The first, generally discussed by the church fathers, interprets Gog and Magog allegorically.[37] Jerome's etymological interpretation of Gog ("tectum"—a roof) and Magog ("de tecto"—from the roof) especially influenced later writers. Augustine states that Gog refers to evil people in whom the devil is shut up as under a roof (as sin in their hearts). Magog then refers to the devil, who comes from these people as if released from under a roof, from the abyss (the godless city). Gog and Magog are, to the fathers, the agents of the devil's persecution of the city of God at the end of time. They are not a specific people, nor are they necessarily barbarians, but symbols for evil people from all over the world whose number is like the sands of the sea. Also referring to Jerome's etymology, Nicholas of Lyra expands the allegorical interpretation. He notes that Gog is Antichrist, since he is inhabited by the devil, and that Magog represents the followers of Antichrist, since they come from the devil.[38]

A second more literal interpretation of Gog and Magog identifies them with specific peoples. This version of the legend is set forth in the sibylline sources and became especially popular in vernacular accounts. In the *Pseudo-Methodius* Gog and Magog are described as completely uncivilized, barbaric peoples comprising twenty-two nations (although the number sometimes varies).[39] Extremely ferocious, they will conquer Africa, Greece, Asia, and portions of Europe, and will persecute all Christians, despoil churches, and make desolate all lands. Referring to the *Pseudo-Methodius*, Hugh of Newcastle (*Tractatus*, 1:11) connects them with the peoples enclosed by Alexander the Great. Originally, the legend of Alexander's Gate held that the king built a gate to hold back the Scythian invaders. When Josephus later identified the Scythians with Gog and Magog, the legend of Gog and Magog was merged with the Alexander legend.[40] This identification further meant that in the later Middle Ages, Antichrist also became part of the popular Alexander legend. For example, the Middle English *Kyng Alisaunder* (fourteenth century)

portrays Antichrist as destroying the work of Alexander by releasing Gog and Magog from captivity so that in the last days they may swarm westward.[41]

Some writers also identify Gog and Magog with the Geats, Goths, Huns, Tartars, or other invading armies. Roger Bacon notes that the Tartars were preparing to invade Christendom to support Antichrist's rise to power, and he describes them as breaking the gates of the Caucasus.[42] Perhaps the most popular identification of the armies, however, is with the ten lost tribes of Israel. Although not specifically naming Gog and Magog, an early sibyl predicts: "Dread wrath shall come upon them, when a twelve-tribe [*sic*] people shall come from the East. Seeking a people which Assyria's shoot destroyed, their kindred Hebrews; thereupon nations shall perish."[43] Jewish apocalyptic writings portrayed these lost tribes as returning messiahs. However, some Christian writers linked the lost tribes to Alexander, as in Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*. Also, since Dan is one of the lost tribes, the Hebrew tribes could easily be identified with Gog and Magog and Antichrist. In the popular imagination of medieval Christians already prone to believe the worst about the Jews, the lost tribes became a source of great fear. They were expected to be horrible armies preparing to slaughter Christians. *Mandeville's Travels*, for example, after describing the mountains of "Caspye," tells how the lost tribes will be released by Antichrist in the last days. This popular work draws upon medieval anti-Semitic legends to predict the Jewish invasion of Europe. Since Gog and Magog speak only Hebrew, the *Travels* explains, the Jews of Europe now learn Hebrew in preparation for their release:

> And ȝit natheles men seyn þei schull gon out in the tyme of Antecrist. And þat þei schull maken gret slaughter of cristene men, and þerfore all the Iewes þat dwellen in all londes lernen all weys to speken Ebrew, in hope þat whan the oþer Iews schull gon out, þat þei may understonden hire speche & to leden hem in to cristendom for to destroye the cristene peple.[44]

The patristic and sibylline versions of the legend also differ concerning the time of Gog and Magog's release. In the patristic version, they will be released when Antichrist appears, since they are his armies, which he leads in the final great persecution (Apoc. 20:8).[45] Antichrist will appear after the Roman empire has fallen; thus his armies of evil will face no organized opposition from any secular power. They will surge forth like the sands of the sea, gather at Jerusalem (or as Augustine explains, wherever Christians are gathered), and wage war against God's people. They will be destroyed finally by Christ when he kills Antichrist. In contrast, the sibylline version expects Gog and Magog to be released before Antichrist appears. The *Pseudo-Methodius* describes how they challenge the reign of the Last World Emperor, whereas the *Tiburtine Oracle*, which discusses the origins of Antichrist before the release of the barbarians, expects the Last World Emperor to defeat Gog and Magog before Antichrist begins his reign.[46] In the sibylline version, therefore, Gog and Magog are not the armies of Antichrist but one of the signs of war and devastation that will precede Antichrist. They are precursors of worse to come.

Because of the various medieval interpretations of the millennium, the release of Gog and Magog is sometimes described as coming after Antichrist and the millennial reign of justice. This interpretation separates the persecution of Antichrist from that of the armies described as released after the thousand-year binding of Satan (Apoc. 20:7–8). Joachim of Fiore's trinitarian view of history especially develops this sequence. Joachim distinguishes between the Antichrist to come at the end of the second *status* and Gog and Magog, the Antichrist-type figures to appear as the last surge of evil ending the third *status*. Visually, the distinction is illustrated by the dragon/devil of Apocalypse 12 pictured in the *Liber figurarum*.[47] According to the illustration, the seventh head of the dragon symbolizes Antichrist, whereas the tail of the dragon symbolizes Gog.

Not all discussions of the Antichrist legend predict the release of Gog and Magog before Antichrist's reign. Adso's *Libellus de*

Antichristo, for example, does not even refer to the barbaric armies. What Wilhelm Bousset analyzes as Adso's treatment of Gog and Magog is in reality a later interpolation in the *Libellus* of a passage from the *Tiburtine Oracle*.[48] One certain sign included by Adso and found in most medieval discussions of Antichrist, however, is the fall of the Roman empire. Early commentators expected that Roman power would be lost preceding Antichrist's own rise to power. They repeatedly identified the empire as the power that restrains Antichrist (2 Thess. 2:6) and argued that Antichrist could not appear until Rome falls. Thus, although early Christians were often hostile to the empire since it was the persecutor of the church, they also looked upon it as beneficial because it delayed Antichrist's worse persecution. Lactantius, to whom the surest sign of the end is the decline of Roman power, relates his predictions of the terrors of the last days to the breakdown of Roman supremacy.[49] Confusion, disorder, civil discords, and war will result, he predicts, from the lack of a Roman central authority. Then Antichrist will appear and gain power.

The breakup of the Roman empire in the fifth century did not affect this political expectation, although it did require some interpretative shifts in emphases. Exegetes were uncertain how to determine Rome's decline. One problem involved the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dan. 2) and the fourth beast of Daniel 7. Exegetes explained that, after the fourth great empire (Rome) passes, ten kings will rule before Antichrist and the end of the world. They were unsure, however, if Antichrist would come immediately after the fall of Rome (or of ten Roman emperors?) or after a series of minor kings. For those who expected the imminent end of the world, it was crucial to identify these kings, but Augustine warned that pinpointing the kings would be dangerous, since the number ten may only represent the totality of kings who precede Antichrist. If Christians wait for ten kings to rule, they may be taken unaware by Antichrist.[50] Another problem complicating the interpretation of Rome's loss of power was the difficulty in identifying "Rome." In the later Middle Ages, the power of Rome could be perceived both in secular and sacred governments, in the Holy Roman

Empire and in the Roman church. To Adso, for example, even though the empire is "mostly destroyed," the glory of Rome endures as long as the French monarchy survives. This notion is repeated in later vernacular literature influenced by Adso's *Libellus*.[51] According to the *Cursor Mundi*, the prophecy of the decline in Roman power concerns the nations, such as France, once under the power of Rome. The *Pricke of Conscience* notes that not only will political power pass away but that religious power will also be lost. No man, it predicts, will remain obedient to the church of Rome. Until this decline in religious obedience, however, the "dignity" of Rome continues.

Medieval writers were therefore convinced that the decline of Roman power would be a certain signal of Antichrist's appearance. Even the legend of the Last World Emperor holds that the great ruler will give up his crown before Antichrist takes power. Originally developed in the sibylline sources, this legend was tied by Adso to the exegetical interpretation of 2 Thessalonians 2. He predicts that a great French king will control the entire Roman empire (as a *Carolus redivivus*) and rule as the greatest of all kings. The sibylline legend is most fully developed in the *Tiburtine Oracle*, which enumerates a long list of kings whose names are coded by initials and who are expected to reign before the Last World Emperor. Then the emperor, named Constans, will establish a millenarian rule of peace and plenty, destroy all idols and pagan nations, and convert the Jews. He will rule for 112 years (or less in some versions); then Antichrist will be born and Gog and Magog released. The emperor will defeat the barbaric armies and journey to Jerusalem, where he will give up his crown to the Lord: "And with the end of the Roman Empire, then Antichrist will be manifestly revealed and will sit in the house of the Lord in Jerusalem."[52] The *Ludus de Antichristo* (ca. 1155–60) movingly dramatizes this key moment between the rule of the messianic king and the deceits of Antichrist. After defeating Babylon, the Last World Emperor places his crown on the altar of the temple in Jerusalem. Immediately, hypocrites appear on stage, followed by Antichrist, who then sets out to establish his reign.[53]

Deceit and Tyranny of Antichrist

The rule of Antichrist reflects his dual nature—he will be both a pseudo-Christ and a tyrannical ruler. As noted above, the medieval tradition portrays him not only as a deceiver denying Jesus as a false Christ and trying to convert Christians and Jews to himself as the true Christ, but also as a tyrant who will gain power by overthrowing nations and persecuting those whom he cannot deceive. These two natures are sometimes discussed separately, but in many works they are not distinguished and are treated together. In the Chester mystery play, *Coming of Antichrist,* for example, Antichrist at first plays the role of the pseudo-Messiah; but gradually, when challenged by Enoch and Elias, he becomes a raving tyrant in the tradition of Herod and the other evil kings of the mystery cycles. The *Ludus de Antichristo* also alludes to his double nature, for Antichrist first appears on stage wearing religious garments and attempts to gain power through hypocrisy, but under these garments he wears a military breastplate, which he uncovers when he turns to the sword to gain power.

The exact order and the details of Antichrist's career vary. Sometimes Antichrist begins as a king and defeats the enemies of Christianity, thus pretending to be a savior-ruler similar to the Last World Emperor. However, he soon turns to his blasphemous claims and becomes a tyrant. In other versions, he begins as the false Christ and slowly gains power through his deceit. Later he may become a king or, as in Adso, he may control secular powers that conduct the persecutions for him. The following summary includes most of the details connected with his rule and persecution. Although no single medieval source includes all these details, the summary illustrates the various medieval expectations concerning Antichrist's career.

As a deceiver, Antichrist will begin by claiming to be the Messiah ("Ego sum Christus"). He will preach new laws and teachings in order to destroy the law of God and proclaim Jesus to have been a false Christ in order to endear himself to the Jews and convince Christians to give him their allegiance. His pre-

tended holiness is particularly effective, and he is immediately able to convert the ignorant and the unprepared. He will then send out false prophets who, like Christ's disciples, preach his gospel. These prophets are extremely successful, particularly because of their ability to work miracles. Meanwhile, he will begin to parody events from Christ's life by performing miracles, raising the dead, and even pretending to die and be resurrected in three days. As Adso notes, at first he will convert kings so that he can have political support when converting the common people; even the very elect of God will be deceived. Christians will gather from many nations to proclaim his leadership and to glorify his name. With this success, Antichrist will become more impudent, proud, and audacious, making further blasphemous claims. In pride, he will raise himself above all divinities, attack the Bible and condemn the Trinity. He will attempt to overthrow the worship of the true God and establish himself in his place by infiltrating the church. Most of the world will now be converted, even many wise and faithful Christians. Only a stubborn remnant will be faithful to God.[54]

Antichrist then will journey to Jerusalem to underscore his claim to be the Messiah. He will rebuild the temple of Solomon destroyed by the Romans. Then, like Antiochus Epiphanes before him, he will institute his own false religion in the temple by setting up an idol or a statue of himself. He particularly wishes to convert the Jews. As Gregory notes, since they did not accept Christ, the Jews still look for the coming of the Messiah: ". . for Christ they await Antichrist."[55] Antichrist will prove his loyalty to the "Old Law" by being circumcised and, since he is from the tribe of Dan, will be accepted by the Jews. The conversion of the Jews will mark a turning point in his reign. Having consolidated his religious power, he will need to convert only a few who remain faithful to Christianity in order to control the entire world.

Antichrist's rise to power is swift and very effective. He will quickly convert most Christians by using several means. According to Haimo of Auxerre and other writers, Antichrist will bribe kings with gifts, dupe others with miracles, and convince those remaining faithful with terrors. Honorius of Autun adds a

fourth method—false teaching. Thus later commentators, such as Hugh of Strassburg and Vincent Ferrer, usually enumerate four standard means by which Antichrist consolidates his power.[56] The terrors are a natural means, given Antichrist's tyrannical nature, whereas the bribes and false teachings are part of his hypocrisy. His most effective method of deception is the power to perform miracles. He will work wonders like those experienced by the early church. These wonders have not been witnessed for many years because, as Isidore explains, "a sign is not necessary for the faithful, who already believe, but for the unfaithful, that they may be converted."[57] The early church witnessed many miracles, but as Christianity became established, these miracles ceased. Nevertheless, in the last days, Christians will again see many miracles, but unfortunately, they will be controlled by Antichrist and his false prophets. As in Hugh of Newcastle's *Tractatus* (1:22), these miracles form an important part of later medieval expectations of Antichrist. Adso details some of the prophesied signs and wonders: "He will make fire from the sky come terribly, trees suddenly flower and dry up, the sea storm and suddenly become tranquil, natural things change into diverse forms, the course and order of waters change, the air agitate with winds and many storms, and other innumerable and stupendous things; he even will resurrect the dead in the sight of men. . . ."[58] These and other miracles are enumerated in later theological studies and developed in literary and artistic portrayals of Antichrist.

Medieval commentators were especially troubled by Antichrist's ability to perform miracles. Ælfric, for example, is concerned that the expected great power of Antichrist and his miracles will mislead all Christians. None will stand firm. Ælfric compares the last days to the time of the martyrs and notes how, when Christians were persecuted formerly, Christ allowed them to perform miracles as he had done earlier. This power was a source of encouragement to the persecuted. In contrast, Ælfric warns, during Antichrist's persecution the persecutor rather than the persecuted will work signs.[59] The saints will be afflicted, and yet not have signs of their saintliness as proof in the sight of

men. The traditional means of distinguishing between God's faithful and his enemies will be confused, as Antichrist works the wonders formerly associated with the saints.

The true nature of Antichrist's miracles were a matter of opinion, however. Some commentators believed that Antichrist cannot perform "real" miracles, that these wonders will be totally false and the result only of Antichrist's early training by magicians in Babylon. He is a master magician comparable, as the *Glossa ordinaria* points out, to Simon Magus.[60] The medieval Simon Magus legend tells how the magician claimed to be Christ by pretending to rise from the dead. He also performed numerous wonders, such as flying in the air, and, like Antichrist, changed natural objects and worked signs in the sky. But as Bernardino of Siena insists, "there is a great difference between the true miracles of God and the false miracles of Antichrist . . . ," which will seem real, as Thomas Aquinas explains, only because mortal senses are deceived easily.[61] The pseudo-Christ will only pretend to be dead and then return to life. Furthermore, he will be unable to resurrect the dead. Instead, as the *Pricke of Conscience* carefully explains, the dead will be inspired by devils:

> He sal alswa dede men uprays,
> Þat sal gang obout, als þe boke says,
> And þat sal be thurgh þe devels quayntis,
> For devels sal entre in-til þe dede bodys
> And bere þa dede bodys obout,
> Swa þat parfit men sal be in dout
> Whether he es verray crist or noght
> And þus sal men be in errour broght.[62]

To other commentators, Antichrist's miracles are very real indeed. His power, inherited at birth from the devil, will enable him actually to raise the dead and to bring fire down from the sky. Of course, the power of the devil is employed only by the permission of God. Yet as God allowed the devil to send fire from heaven to destroy the flocks of Job, so he will allow Antichrist to bring fire from heaven in the last days. Noting that there is disagreement about the "signs and marvellous lies" of

Antichrist (2 Thess. 2:9), Augustine comments that it was no illusion when fire wiped out the household and flocks of Job.[63] Later writers sometimes combine the two views of the miracles. Typical of these writers, Nicholas of Lyra states that some miracles "will be done by a demon through the illusion of the senses, which things appear to be but will not be; and others are true things, just as the Devil over Job's sheep made real fire descend."[64] Of course, no matter what the nature of the miracles, they will effectively support Antichrist's deceitful claims to be divine.

As a tyrant, Antichrist will begin his career with numerous exhibitions of his power. He will gain his leadership by fraud and become a powerful king through clever alliances. By attacking his enemies and making further alliances, he will further establish his widespread temporal power. No human can stand against him, for he can be defeated only by God. He will conquer Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia (the three horns, Dan. 7:8) and thereby pretend to support Christianity against paganism. At first he will appear to be a fair and just ruler, but this pretence of goodness is hypocritical, acted out only to later deceive the Christian nations.[65] He will be, in reality, like Antiochus and Nero before him, a horrible tyrant. He will reveal his true nature when unable to convert the remnant Christians. They are not deceived by his gifts, teachings, and miracles, so he will direct a terrible persecution against them. Under sibylline influence, some early writers even predicted that before Antichrist institutes his persecution, Nero will return to continue his own cruelties. Others, according to Augustine, expected that just as there were ten plagues in Egypt before Israel was released from bondage, so will ten great persecutions precede Antichrist. Augustine, however, opposes as ingenious speculation both the *Nero redivivus* legend and the expectation of specific persecutions before Antichrist.[66] The only certain expectation is that Antichrist's persecution will be the worst in history.

Antichrist will "make war against the saints" (Apoc. 13:7; Dan. 7:21) by torturing the faithful, burning religious books, slaying women and children (see figure 5). The blood of Christians will flow in the streets. Nature will react violently with worldwide

plagues and famines—the whole world will be desolated. Those who follow him will be given a mark to distinguish them, whereas those who lack the mark (Apoc. 13:16–17) will be unable to buy or sell. In order not to deny Christ's name, many will flee to the mountains and to the deserts. An "insane murderer," Antichrist will attack all who believe in the true Son of God, yet a faithful remnant will survive.[67] God will take pity on them and make the time brief. The persecution will last for 1,260 days, or forty-two months, or three and one-half years.

God will allow Antichrist to persecute his people in order to test them. As many commentators point out, when Israel of the Old Testament turned away from the law of God to idolatry, God allowed its enemies to war against, and subjugate, Israel. The persecution of Antichrist, therefore, is sometimes compared with the Babylonian Captivity of Israel (and, in polemical works, with the Avignonese papacy). The purpose of the persecution and the captivity are the same—to teach God's people a lesson. In the last days many will again turn away from God, and the church will be filled with hypocrites, heretics, and false Christians. Commenting on the persecution of Gog and Magog, Nicholas of Lyra refers to Matthew 24:12 to explain its necessity. Christians will be oppressed by Antichrist because of their iniquity and the "cooling of charity" that accompanies the end of time. Therefore, Nicholas continues, the church "will be purged by the tribulation of Antichrist."[68] As Augustine also argues, evil Christians deserve to be misled by Antichrist's wonders. The persecution will be a trying period that, as Berengaudus explains, will test Christians as fire tests gold.[69] Since at the end of time one will believe either in Christ or in Antichrist, the final persecution will reveal the true loyalties of the hypocrites within the church. It will also glorify the elect in the eyes of heaven and prepare them to meet Christ.

The Ministry of Enoch and Elias

The key event in Antichrist's career will be the appearance of Enoch and Elias. As Hugh of Newcastle's *Tractatus* maintains,

their ministry will effect a change in Antichrist's fortunes. Prophets of the true Christ, they will challenge Antichrist and reconvert to Christianity all those earlier deceived by him. The ministry of the two prophets is one of the most popular features of the medieval Antichrist legend. Their awaited appearance is so closely tied to Antichrist that after mentioning either prophet separately, commentators often immediately refer to the other and note their eschatological roles. Such is the case even when the writer is not specifically discussing Antichrist. In one homily, for example, Ælfric refers to Enoch and Antichrist even though he is explaining, not the last days, but the forty-day fast of Elias. In his version of Alcuin's *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*, on the other hand, Ælfric thinks of Elias when discussing Enoch. He translates the Latin "Enoc" into the Old English "enoh oððe elias." Similarly, in his *On the Old and New Testament*, he details the significance of the early patriarchs from Adam's sons to Noah, mentioning Enoch in his chronologically correct place. He here also mentions Elias, even though Elias is not a patriarch and belongs much later in Old Testament history. However, the mention of Enoch brings to mind Elias, and Ælfric wishes to explain how the two will await Antichrist's appearance in the last days.[70] Similarly, such a close association between Enoch and Elias continues into later medieval thought. For example, commenting in his influential chronicle on Elias' being taken up in a fiery chariot, Hartmann Schedel notes that the prophet is taken to the Earthly Paradise. There he remains to this day "with Enoch until the time of Antichrist when he will descend to preach against him."[71]

The two prophets do not always appear together, however. Some early interpretations of Antichrist's reign predict only one prophet to come in the last days. Lactantius describes a single prophet sent by God who will have power to work miracles and to preach against Antichrist.[72] Although he is not identified, the prophet resembles the Old Testament Elias, for wherever men do not listen to him, he is able to prevent rainfall. This wondrous power resembles Elias' ability to bring on a great drought during the reign of Ahab (1 Kings 17:1). Early commentators generally

identify this single prophet as Elias, whose eschatological role is prophesied in the Old Testament (Mal. 4:5–6). He is named by Justin Martyr, Commodian, Victorinus, and Augustine.[73] An interesting, although rare, literary portrayal of Elias is included in the Old High German *Muspilli* (early ninth century). According to this poem, Elias appears to challenge Antichrist immediately preceding the Last Judgment. Heroically standing alone, he is heaven's champion, finally killed by Antichrist, hell's champion.[74]

Most commentators expect Elias to be accompanied by a second prophet, and together they represent the two witnesses of Apocalypse 11:2–3. Commenting on this text, Beatus identifies these witnesses as "Elias and he who comes with him," thereby linking the two witnesses with the Old Testament prophecy explicitly naming Elias (Mal. 4:5–6).[75] Although here Beatus does not name the companion prophet, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, Tertullian, and Irenaeus identified him earlier as Enoch.[76] In the traditional exegetical interpretation, therefore, Enoch and Elias are the two witnesses. The immediate source for naming Enoch as Elias' companion is not clear, but certainly the medieval legend that Enoch journeyed into the Earthly Paradise (1 En. 32:1–6) was influential. Also, the Old Testament portrays him as a holy patriarch who walked with God and whom God took up so that he has not died (Gen. 5:22–24; Ecclus. 44:16). Both learned exegetes, such as Rabanus Maurus, and vernacular accounts, such as the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus* (ca. 1250), make this holiness the reason God took Enoch to live in Paradise.[77]

Enoch and Elias are also associated with one another in the Middle Ages because they were both considered Old Testament types of Christ. In medieval exegesis their being taken from earth before suffering death usually prefigures Christ's Ascension. This understanding of the two Old Testament righteous is especially evident in the illustrations of the Ascension included in the numerous *Biblia pauperum* popular in the later Middle Ages. These Bibles portray Christ as he rises from the Mount of Olives, in the center of the page. Flanking this scene on the left, the picture Bibles represent the delivery of Enoch into heaven,

and on the right, Elias rising in his fiery chariot.[78] Thus the opposition of Enoch and Elias to Antichrist and the pseudo-Christ's murderous hatred towards his two opponents are further explained by the symbolic significance of the two witnesses. They are types of Christ, Antichrist's greatest enemy; they prefigure the supernatural opponent of Antichrist who will kill him when his blasphemy and tyranny have reached their peak. Until his death, however, Antichrist will remain all-powerful. When Enoch and Elias challenge him and convert many to the true Christ, he will be incensed by their opposition and will rave against them, kill them, and leave their bodies unburied. After three and one-half days, they will return to life and rise to heaven to join the saints. Thus their careers in the last days will also parallel Christ's earlier ministry on earth, his death, three-day rest in the grave, and ascension into heaven.

The exegetical interpretation of the two witnesses of Apocalypse 11 expects the actual bodily appearance of Enoch and Elias as prophets of God. Neither of the two holy men has died. Their stay in the Earthly Paradise means that they are neither in heaven with the saints, nor on earth among men.[79] They await the last days, destined to play out their eschatological roles. Sometimes the witnesses are interpreted allegorically. Bruno of Segni notes that spiritually they represent "all the doctors of the Church" but does not preclude the actual appearance of Enoch and Elias. Joachim of Fiore and those influenced by him, on the other hand, essentially deny the actual appearance of the two prophets.[80] In his *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, Joachim ties the two witnesses to two orders of spiritual men who will reform the church and usher in the third *status*. Joachim's followers identified these two orders with mendicant orders or with their founders. Ubertino da Casale, for example, states that Francis and Dominic are the two witnesses, "in typo Helie et Enoch."[81] Later Franciscans identified Saint Francis as Elias and predicted that the two witnesses would be Franciscans. That Enoch is rarely mentioned in these discussions again shows how significantly Joachimist interpretations transformed the exegetical explanations of Antichrist. Even writers not supporting the religious or-

ders argued that the expected appearance of Enoch and Elías symbolized the increasing role of preachers in the fight against Antichrist. In his *Regulae*, for example, Matthew of Janov speaks of Jesus as inspiring the preachers with the "spirit of Elias and Enoch" and denies that Elias will come in person.[82] Reformation interpretations similarly deny the literal return of Enoch and Elias (see conclusion). Generally, however, even in the later Middle Ages, exegetes explain that the two witnesses represent the two Old Testament personages, and popular accounts of Antichrist, such as that included in the Middle English *Cursor Mundi*, expect the actual appearance of Enoch and Elias.[83]

The popularity of the Enoch and Elias legend and its significance to the medieval expectations of Antichrist are evident throughout much literature.[84] The ninth-century "Quique cupitis audire" devotes a third of its account of Antichrist to the two prophets, while another Latin poem, "De Enoch et Haeliae," concentrates on the two prophets, only briefly mentioning other lore associated with Antichrist. Literary references to the Earthly Paradise also include the two prophets. The *Parliament of Three Ages* notes that Enoch and Elias await Antichrist in the "iles of the Oryent," while a Middle English parody of the Earthly Paradise, the *Land of Cokaygne*, describes the prophets' lonely stay in Paradise. The *Gospel of Nicodemus* ties Enoch and Elias, and thereby Antichrist, into medieval accounts of Christ's Harrowing of Hell. As the released saints are led by Michael through the Earthly Paradise, they meet "two men, ancient of days." When asked who they are, one replies: "I am Enoch, who by the word of the Lord was carried here; and he who is with me is Elias the Thisbite, who was taken up in a fiery chariot. Here and until now we have not tasted death, but are saved until the coming of Antichrist to battle against him with divine signs and portents, and to be killed by him in Jerusalem, and to be taken up again alive into the clouds after three days and a half."[85]

Although medieval Christians denounced the Jews for denying Christ and expecting Antichrist, they believed that immediately before the Second Advent the Jews will be converted to Christianity (Rom. 11:26). According to the legend of the Last

World Emperor, they will be converted during the reign of peace before the appearance of Antichrist. Some later interpretations forecast that they will be converted after Antichrist's death or, as in Joachimist expectations, by the spiritual men and the "Angelic Pope."[86] In traditional exegetical explanations, Enoch and Elias serve as the agents of the Jewish conversion. As the *Apocalypse of Peter* predicts, they will be sent to instruct "the house of Israel."[87] The two prophets are the forerunners of Christ's Second Advent sent to prepare the Jews, as John the Baptist was the forerunner of Christ's earthly ministry. In fact, Enoch and Elias are often compared to John the Baptist, since Christ, referring to Malachi 4, identified John with the awaited Elias (Matt. 17:11–12). For example, in his homily on the nativity of John the Baptist, Ælfric compares John and Elias, who will come "against Antichrist."[88] As John tried to prepare the Jews to accept Christ, Enoch and Elias, through their powerful preaching and miracles, will try to turn the Jews from Antichrist to the true Christ. Their ministry represents the Jews's last chance. As Augustine predicts, the two will convince the Jews of their past errors and finally lead them to Christ by explaining the spiritual sense of the law that the Jews now mistakenly accept in a material sense.[89] The Jews thus again play a very major role in medieval Christian eschatology. Their earlier conversion to Antichrist signals the beginning of the final persecution, whereas their conversion to Christ signals the Second Advent.

Interpreting Apocalypse 11:3, most commentators explain that Enoch and Elias will preach for three and one-half years. This dating of their ministry illustrates the difficulties of establishing a consistent version of the Antichrist tradition. The three-and-one-half-year period is sometimes identified with the complete reign of Antichrist, sometimes with just his persecution, and sometimes with the ministry of the two prophets. However, if the preaching of the two continues for three and one-half years, the persecution of Antichrist either lasts for a longer period or runs simultaneously with it. Similar solutions to this problem of dating are offered by Commodian and Hippolytus.[90] Commodian describes a Nero-Antichrist who shares with Enoch

a seven-year period of tribulation, each figure occupying half of the time. Interpreting Daniel 9:27, Hippolytus states that the time of the end lasts for a "week," that is, for seven years. This period is split into two halves, each of three and one-half years. Enoch and Elias will come before Antichrist's persecution to preach; afterward, Antichrist will persecute the church for another three and one-half years.

The exact sequence of events concerning the appearance of the two prophets and the persecution of Antichrist also varies from writer to writer. To writers such as Adso, Enoch and Elias are expected before Antichrist's persecution. They will warn Christians of the terrors to follow, reform the church, convert the Jews, and be killed by Antichrist when he begins to persecute. This sequence of events makes their ministry the catalyst for Antichrist's persecution, which is aimed at the Jews as well as at the faithful Christians. Hugh of Strassburg's *Compendium theologicae veritatis* stresses their key role: "Note, therefore, that Antichrist first shall come in friendship and with the working of miracles; and then he will be supported by the Jews, who especially shall adhere to him; at whose conversion, Elias and Enoch shall come, and then Antichrist shall rise in open persecution."[91] Other commentators, such as Hugh of Newcastle, expect Enoch and Elias to appear towards the end of Antichrist's persecution. Their conversion of the Jews and their death, resurrection, and assumption into heaven immediately precede the death of Antichrist and the Second Advent of Christ.

The Destruction of Antichrist and Subsequent Events

After the final persecution and, in some versions, immediately after the assumption of Enoch and Elias into heaven, Antichrist will perform his final act of blasphemy. Still pretending to be Christ, he will climb the Mount of Olives to ascend into heaven.[92] Here he will be killed, as was Simon Magus when he similarly attempted to prove his divinity by rising to heaven propelled by devils. Commentators repeatedly emphasize the cer-

tainty of Antichrist's total destruction. Vernacular literature also underscores his death, often portraying, as does the Chester *Coming of Antichrist*, his devilish supporters mourning the death of their "mayster." A thirteenth-century Old French poem shows Antichrist delivering a bombastic speech on the Mount of Olives in which, further parodying Christ, he promises that he will now return to God to prepare to come again in judgment.[93] At that point, he is struck down and more than a thousand devils cry out:

"Cum nos a traÿ Lucifer!
Or seron nos el feu d'enfer,
Qi nos bruîra toz jorm mais,
Ne d'iloc n'iserons jamais.
E[n] la malora t'ay veü
E ton mauvès consey creu!
La joie avons par toé perdue,
Qi ne nos sera mai rendue."

The complaint resembles that of the fallen angels when Christ breaks through the infernal portals during the Harrowing of Hell. The devils in both cases condemn their false leader, who has led them astray and who now has been defeated.

Discussing 2 Thessalonians 2:8, most commentators state that Antichrist will be killed by the "spirit of Christ's mouth." Exactly what the "spirit" represents is not certain, however, nor is it certain whether Antichrist will be killed at Christ's Second Advent or sometime before. The Pauline text links the end of the "son of perdition" to the coming of the Son of God. The *Pseudo-Methodius* also equates the two events: "Then the signs of the advent of the Son of Man shall appear, and he shall come in the clouds in heavenly glory, and the Lord by the spirit of his mouth shall kill him [Antichrist], according to the apostolic exposition."[94] All commentators do not agree that Christ himself is to kill Antichrist at the Second Advent. Adso explains that a period of grace will intervene instead, during which time those deceived by Antichrist may repent. Hugh of Newcastle places the Fifteen Signs between Antichrist's death and Doomsday. Still

others, such as Alcuin, argue that no man can know when Christ returns (Matt. 24:36), but that it will probably be sometime after Antichrist's death.[95]

Therefore, the "spirit of Christ's mouth" (2 Thess. 2:8) is often interpreted as a power that is separate from Christ. It may be the divine command of Christ.[96] Thomas Aquinas states that Antichrist will be killed "by the spirit of his mouth, that is, by his command," whereas Matthew of Janov suggests that the Christian preachers will be filled with "the spirit of Christ's mouth" and destroy Antichrist. Berengier's *De l'avenement Antecrist*, which describes Antichrist struck down by lightning, makes the "spirit" a curse of God: "Perissiés, Antecrist, qui sor terre a[s] regné!"[97] One rare identification makes the "spirit" the third member of the Godhead. This interpretation is suggested by Rupert of Deutz and portrayed in the Middle English *King Solomon's Book of Wisdom*: "Atte last schal come þe holi gost in fourme of swerd aliȝt,/ & Antichrist to deþ smyte þorouȝ his swete miȝt."[98] Generally, though, the "spirit of Christ's mouth" is considered the predetermined agent of Christ who acts with his full consent, and in later explanations, the agent is usually identified as Michael. This interpretation is already suggested by Bede, who states that Antichrist will be killed by either Christ or Michael, and by Adso, who notes that Antichrist will be killed by the power of Christ, even if that power is wielded by Michael.[99] In popular literature, Michael plays a similarly important role as Christ's agent. The influential *Legenda aurea* explains Michael's significance as defender of the faithful by noting that he will kill Antichrist, whereas the Chester *Coming of Antichrist* brings Michael on stage to accuse and then kill Antichrist before the devils drag him to hell.

The uncertainty concerning the means of Antichrist's death is further complicated by the notion that a brief period of peace will follow between Antichrist's destruction and the Second Advent. This expectation finds biblical support in the apocalyptic visions of the seven seals. The opening of the seventh seal, which is accompanied by a time of silence (Apoc. 8:1) symbolizes, according to Bede and others, a period of peace to follow the time

of Antichrist (the sixth seal). Bede compares the opening of the seventh seal to the quiet of Christ's rest on the Sabbath following his Crucifixion.[100] As that Sabbath rest was followed by the glory of the Resurrection, so the time of peace after Antichrist will be followed by the glory of the Second Advent. Exegetes generally interpret this time of peace as a period of repentance, when those who were deceived by Antichrist will have the opportunity to return to the true faith. Two specific time periods are mentioned. The first, developed by Hippolytus and Jerome, predicts a forty-five day period. This particular number is determined through a manipulation of the two time prophecies of Daniel 12.[101] The forty-five days represent a period between the 1,290 days (verse 11)—the time of the "abomination of desolation"—and the 1,335 days (verse 12)—when Christians will be rewarded.

This interpretation is standard in the exegetical discussions of Antichrist. The forty-five days are discussed, for example, by Haimo of Auxerre, Adso's chief source. It is curious, therefore, that in his *Libellus de Antichristo* Adso mentions another specific time of grace following Antichrist—a forty-day period.[102] This discrepancy may be an error on Adso's part, for he follows Haimo in other details, even in referring to Daniel (and thus, presumably, to the specific time prophecies). Perhaps Adso or a later scribe simply left out by accident the "quinque" of "quadraginta quinque," but the change may be deliberate, for contemporary evidence suggests that in the tenth century the time of grace was accounted as forty days. For example, the ninth-century Latin poem "Quique cupitis audire" refers to forty days of repentance and may have influenced Adso.

Some Old English texts not influenced by Adso suggest also that the forty-day expectation was known in England during the tenth century. *Blickling Homily* III, for example, compares Christ's forty-day sojourn in the wilderness, when he was tempted by Satan, to Lent and, since Easter and judgment are related symbolically, to the expected time before Doomsday. Pseudo-Wulfstan Homily LV and Ælfric's "Dominica I in Quadragesima" tie the forty-day fasts of Christ, Moses, and Elias to

the appearance of Enoch and Elias during the time of Antichrist.[103] The forty days of penitence could easily be associated with the time of repentance between the death of Antichrist and the Last Judgment. Also, in an interesting discussion of Christ's activities between Resurrection and Ascension, the Old English version of the *Elucidarius* of Honorius of Autun explains that for forty days Christ lived with Enoch and Elias in the Earthly Paradise. In response to the question of why Christ did not return to heaven immediately, Honorius states that, among other reasons, Christ wished to show that "Christian folk shall ascend to Heaven in forty days after their torture, which they suffered under Antichrist."[104] Since the *Elucidarius* was influenced by Adso, it is not evidence of a forty-day tradition independent of the *Libellus*, yet it does provide a clue to why the forty days could be an attractive period for medieval interpretations of a time of repentance. Since Honorius and others consider Christ's Passion a type of the terrors that the church will suffer under Antichrist, the forty days between Christ's Resurrection and Ascension can symbolize the time between Antichrist's death and Doomsday.

Whatever the reason for the five-day discrepancy between the two time periods, the distinction is often kept in later medieval accounts. As a matter of fact, the forty-day period is one feature that reflects Adso's great influence on later theological and literary writers.[105] Later literary accounts of Antichrist mentioning forty rather than forty-five days include Huon le Roi, *Li Regres nostre dame* (ca. 1240); Thibaut de Marly, *Vers de la mort* (ca. 1182); Geufroi de Paris, *Bibles des sept états du monde* (ca. 1243); Berengier, *L'avenement Antecrist*; and the *Cursor Mundi*. On the other hand, the forty-five-day period is cited by exegetical works that repeat the original patristic interpretations of Antichrist. It is the most popular time period and is such a common feature of the tradition that even some literary accounts following Adso's *Libellus*, such as the *Pricke of Conscience*, refer to a period of forty-five days.

The traditional exegetical interpretation of Antichrist's career ends with the expectation of a time between Antichrist's death and the Second Advent. In order to reconcile this period with

the Pauline promise that Christ will kill Antichrist, one commentary on the Apocalypse argues that Antichrist will be killed first by an agent of Christ forty-five days before the Second Advent; then, when Christ returns in glory, Antichrist will be brought back to life and condemned to eternal damnation.[106] Thus Antichrist is killed both by an agent of Christ and by Christ, who returns forty-five days afterwards. Other commentators, however, insist that since it is impossible to predict the appearance of Christ, the Second Advent may not take place exactly forty-five days after Antichrist's death. As Hugh of Strassburg notes (*Compendium,* 7.14), a further undetermined time will pass. Some commentators place here the Fifteen Signs of Doomsday and other events that are expected before the Second Advent.

Recently, Robert E. Lerner has shown that in the later Middle Ages the period expected to follow Antichrist took on millenarian overtones.[107] It is interpreted not only as a specific period of grace (whether forty or forty-five days) but also as an undetermined time for the "refreshment of the saints." During this time the Jews and the heathen will be converted to Christianity. Lerner traces the sources for such an expectation, notes its development in the *Glossa ordinaria*, and convincingly suggests that it may have influenced Joachim of Fiore. He also points out that some commentators, notably Nicholas of Lyra, interpret the forty-five days as figuratively representing forty-five years, so that a half century is expected between Antichrist and the Second Advent. Of course, to such later visionaries as Jean de Roquetaillade, this age becomes the earthly millennium. Yet the period following Antichrist should not be confused with Joachim of Fiore's expected third *status.*[108] Later commentators suggest that after the forty-five days a further time would elapse, but it is usually described as brief. In his expectation of a third *status* to follow Antichrist, as in many other details, Joachim disagrees with the earlier exegetical interpretations. Later writers, even many influenced by Joachimist thought, continue to expect the Second Advent after Antichrist's death. They describe a brief period of grace but do not expect a millenarian age.[109] Most literary and artistic portrayals of the Antichrist tradition

are conservative, even into the fifteenth century. They follow the earlier exegetical interpretations and place Antichrist's death before the Fifteen Signs of Doomsday, the resurrection of the dead, the Second Advent, and the Last Judgment. These artistic and literary portrayals are the subjects of the following two chapters.

what did they expect? That Christ would be with the saints in heaven? Are we angels, then, or what?

CHAPTER 4

Antichrist in Medieval Art

The iconography of Antichrist finds its origins in illustrations of the Apocalypse. Early Christian art (fourth–sixth centuries) did not interpret specific apocalyptic texts, but rather it portrayed scenes of triumph, such as the Adoration of the Lamb and Christ in Majesty, that were inspired by the Apocalypse. As artists began to base their representations on the Apocalypse text, however, they developed visual images of figures important in the Antichrist tradition: the two witnesses and the beast that rises from the abyss (Apoc. 11), the seven-headed dragon (Apoc. 12), the seven-headed beast from the sea and the two-horned beast from the earth (Apoc. 13). Although their handling of these figures varies, such early Apocalypses (eighth–tenth centuries) as those in Cambrai, Valenciennes, Trier, and Bamberg generally illustrate the scriptural texts simply and literally.[1] Since these Apocalypses are not accompanied by commentaries explicating the figures, it is difficult to determine to what extent the illustrations refer to interpretations of the Antichrist tradition. The early Apocalypse of Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. nouv. acq. 1132 (ninth century), for example, portrays the two witnesses standing next to Christ crucified; an inscription—in a later hand—identifies them as Enoch and Elias, the two prophets traditionally expected to challenge Antichrist.[2] The first Apocalypse representations of Antichrist as an identifiable human figure clearly distinguished from the creatures symbolizing Antichrist are found in the Beatus Apocalypses, a group of Spanish illuminated manuscripts (ninth–thirteenth centuries) that include the influential commentary of Beatus of Liebana.[3] These illustrations reflect Beatus' own interpretation of apocalyptic scenes in which he draws upon the well-developed exegeti-

cal tradition—for example, to identify the beast from the abyss as Antichrist. Later illustrated Apocalypses, similarly following the large body of exegesis interpreting the apocalyptic symbols, also portray a human Antichrist, although many other later Apocalypses, especially those not accompanied by a commentary, represent the symbols as literal creatures.

From the early illustrations of Antichrist in the Beatus Apocalypses, the Antichrist tradition developed into a major theme in medieval art. Although the tradition is portrayed in a wide variety of media, including sculpture, mosaic, tapestry, wall painting, and stained glass, most representations of Antichrist and the legends surrounding his appearance in the last days are found in illustrated manuscripts—in Bibles, encyclopedias, and separate Apocalypse books. With the renewed artistic interest in narrative, in fact, illustrated manuscripts began portraying a sequence of scenes from Antichrist's career. For example, the Anglo-Norman Apocalypses, a large group of illustrated manuscripts especially popular and influential in the later Middle Ages (ca. 1250–1450), often followed their portrayal of Enoch and Elias with scenes elaborating Antichrist's deceits, persecutions, and death.[4] Later, the early printed Dutch and German block book Apocalypses continued to illustrate details from Antichrist's life. But the fullest expression of the tradition's popularity in the later Middle Ages were the fifteenth-century block book *vitae* of Antichrist, which illustrate Antichrist's entire life, from his devilish conception to his hellish destruction.[5] These picture books, which often include the Fifteen Signs of Doomsday after Antichrist's death, are the artistic versions of the theological and literary *vitae* of Antichrist.

It is not necessary in this study, however, to trace the development of illustrations of Antichrist in medieval manuscripts. Jessie Poesch's doctoral dissertation, "Antichrist Imagery in Anglo-French Apocalypse Manuscripts," carefully organizes the various strands of the artistic tradition and sorts out the complexities of the manuscript groups.[6] The following will therefore not detail the chronological evolution of the portrayals of Antichrist, nor will it investigate questions of manuscript dating, style, and

families. Neither will it describe the treatment of apocalyptic imagery not immediately relevant to the medieval Antichrist tradition. Instead, it will analyze how the medieval understanding of Antichrist set forth in the first three chapters of this book was illustrated in Christian art before the Reformation, first by showing how the artistic representations of Antichrist relate to their biblical sources and to the commentaries that interpret the symbols and types of Antichrist, and second by summarizing the detailed treatment in medieval art of the life of Antichrist and the legends associated with his appearance in the last days.

Illustrations of Antichrist's Symbols and Types

The manuscript illustrations of Antichrist establish the particularly close relationship existing between representations and the scriptural or exegetical descriptions of him. The artist may portray the biblical symbol in a variety of ways. The beast from the abyss, for example, may be represented literally, as the creature referred to in the scriptural text, or symbolically, as a human Antichrist who kills the two witnesses. Since the Bible does not describe in any detail the beast that rises from the abyss to attack the two witnesses (Apoc. 11:7), its image in art varies quite widely. The early *Trier Apocalypse* shows the beast as a generalized quadruped with teeth, claws, and pointed ears. Later manuscripts represent the beast as horselike, with a human face and long hair, and even though the text may refer to only one beast, they often show two or more beasts. This second conception of the scene is probably based on the description of the locustlike beasts of Apocalypse 9:7–9, which were sometimes interpreted to be the forces of Antichrist. The illuminated *Trinity College Apocalypse* (ca. 1242–50), the richly illustrated *Cloisters Apocalypse* (ca. 1320), and the beautiful Angers Tapestry (1375–81), all part of the Anglo-Norman group, follow this portrayal.[7] The description of the winged Abaddon (Apoc. 9:11) also influenced the representations of the beast from the abyss, for some illustrations of Apocalypse 11 portray a winged warrior or a king riding on a beast that tramples the two witnesses. Apparently,

this figure of Abaddon could be identified as Antichrist, for in one manuscript of the *Liber floridus*, a spiritual encyclopedia compiled by Lambert of Saint Omer (ca. 1120), a man riding on a winged beast kills the witnesses. The inscription above the man states that he is Antichrist, whereas the inscription below the beast identifies it as the beast from the abyss.[8] This picture merges Antichrist and his symbol into one monstrous figure, a human killer riding a beast that tramples the two witnesses.

On the other hand, the beast that rises from the abyss may be portrayed as a human warrior or a king in illustrations that represent the exegetical interpretations of Apocalypse 11. Here the identification of the beast as Antichrist is made explicit. The Beatus Apocalypses sometimes portray a warrior-Antichrist dressed in armor and wielding a sword (see figure 7). He may slay the two witnesses himself or order one of his cohorts to kill them. The Velislav Bible (ca. 1350), a picture Bible that includes a full *vita* of Antichrist before its scenes from the life of Christ, illustrates Apocalypse 11 by showing a warrior stepping on the head of one witness while impaling the other witness with a long lance.[9] Here Antichrist is a human warrior who holds a shield and wears a helmet, both decorated with pictures of devils. Some of the Anglo-Norman Apocalypses depict a royal Antichrist, crowned, sometimes bearded, usually sitting enthroned with his legs crossed.[10] As suits his kingly position, he watches his associates dispatch the two witnesses.

One Beatus Apocalypse (Madrid, Bibl. nac. Hh 58) especially exemplifies the close relationship existing between the illustration of Apocalypse 11 and the biblical text by portraying the beast from the abyss both as a human Antichrist and as a literal creature. As Jessie Poesch shows, the illustrations carefully follow Beatus' explanations of the apocalyptic symbols.[11] When Beatus explains that Antichrist will kill the two witnesses, the illustration shows a human figure killing Enoch and Elias. At the conclusion of chapter 11, however, Beatus refers to the killer of the witnesses as the beast from the abyss, and here the illustration shows a beast killing two men.

Some of the Anglo-Norman Apocalypses portray the beast

from the abyss and the human Antichrist as separate figures in the same illustration. For example, an early manuscript of the Anglo-Norman group, Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 403 (after 1245), shows in one scene the beast from the abyss as it stands between Enoch and Elias and the enthroned human Antichrist (fol. 17r); in another scene (fol. 17v) the beast stands behind the kingly Antichrist and instructs him as two executioners kill Enoch and Elias.[12] The Apocalypse of the Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon (MS L.A. 139, ca. 1255–65) also portrays in a single picture (see figure 8) the literal beast and the human Antichrist as separate figures, and in doing so strikingly equates them as one and the same (fol. 26r). On the left of the picture, Antichrist sits majestically giving orders for Enoch and Elias to be executed, while two executioners carry out his command, and on the right, the beasts from the abyss attack the two witnesses, who lie defeated on the ground, the one scene thereby illustrating both a literal and symbolic reading of Apocalypse 11. The two readings are joined, furthermore, in the center of the picture. Here one of Antichrist's executioners from the left side of the picture grasps the hair of one of the fallen witnesses from the right side. George Henderson, noting that the scene combines two pictorial traditions of the Anglo-Norman cycle, calls it a "mechanical" merger.[13] Nevertheless, as an artistic portrayal of the exegetical interpretations of chapter 11, the illustration is effective: It emphasizes that Antichrist's executioners (portrayed on the left) are indeed symbolized by the apocalyptic beasts (portrayed on the right).

Because the beast from the abyss is often identified in commentaries and portrayed in art as a human Antichrist, some illustrations of Apocalypse 11 give the beast human characteristics. These anthropomorphic creatures may wear a crown and a coat of mail, carry a shield, wield a sword, and walk on their hind legs. For example, the *Dyson Perrins Apocalypse* (ca. 1250), a manuscript of the Anglo-Norman group that includes the commentary of Berengaudus, portrays Apocalypse 11:7–8 by combining two events from the Enoch and Elias legend into one illustration (fol. 17r).[14] On the left, the beast literally comes up out of a hole

in the ground and is challenged by the two witnesses. The beast, identified by an inscription as Antichrist, is humanoid with pointed ears and a grotesque nose. He wears chain mail and wields a curved sword. The two prophets, likewise identified by inscriptions, hold a placard warning the beast of its eventual destruction. The placard quotes from 2 Thessalonians 2:8, the standard exegetical source for discussions of Antichrist's death. On the right, the beast stands on his hind feet, leaning over the fallen prophets, and with his sword slashes the head off one of the prophets. The beast has hooved feet and a long tail that hangs between his legs from under his coat of mail. Once again an inscription identifies him as Antichrist.

Illustrations of Apocalypse 13 similarly reflect the close relationship between the apocalyptic symbols and exegetical interpretations of their significance (see figure 2). Often the dragon and the beast that rises from the sea (Apoc. 13:1–2) are portrayed literally. The early *Gerona Apocalypse*, a Beatus manuscript dated 975, shows a serpentlike dragon with a long winding tail and seven heads facing the sea beast, while below, groups of men worship both creatures. The picture carefully delineates the sea beast—its long neck, sprouting three heads looking forward and three heads looking backward, is topped by a larger head with ten horns; its body is spotted like a leopard's, and its paws are like a bear's.[15] Other early illustrations, those of the *Valenciennes Apocalypse* (ninth century) and *Bamberg Apocalypse* (ca. 1000), depict the sea beast as fishlike, with a winding tail, open mouth, teeth, one large head, six small heads, and ten horns.[16] Generally, though, the sea beast is leopardlike. The Anglo-Norman group, represented by the *Trinity* (fol. 14v) and *Cloisters* (fol. 22v) *Apocalypses*, spreads the ten horns over seven heads of equal size rather than placing them on one large head. In other details, moreover, these and later illustrations closely depict the literal scriptural descriptions of the seven-headed beast from the sea.

In order to emphasize the significance of these symbols, illustrations often contain inscriptions excerpted from the biblical texts and commentaries. These inscriptions usually identify the

apocalyptic creatures wth Antichrist. The inscriptions are essential to picture Bibles, such as the Velislav Bible. Although it does not include the biblical text, the Velislav Bible in one full-page illustration depicts the three creatures of Apocalypse 13 literally while interpreting their symbolic significance (fol. 164r). At the top left of the picture, the winged dragon with a long serpentine tail hands over his sword to the leopardlike beast that stands on water facing the dragon from the right. The beast has six small heads, one large head, and ten long horns crowned by circles. Each creature grasps the vertically held sword, which divides the upper illustration in half. Beneath, a group of seven men with marks on their right hands worship, and their kneeling figures create a horizontal band that separates this scene from the one below. On the left of the lower picture, the two-horned beast from the earth holds the flowering roots of an upturned plant and points to three men, also with marked hands, who worship a winged idol sitting on a square pedestal. These creatures and their actions can be interpreted with the help of several inscriptions. Above the dragon's tail, an inscription explains that the dragon gives power to the beast. The dragon's mouth is inscribed "os loquens magna" (Apoc. 13:5). Below the dragon's outstretched claw lies a single head, similar to the seven heads of the beast. It is inscribed "caput mortuum," the head that appeared to be dead. Above the beast, the inscription conflates the relevant biblical text (Apoc. 13:1–2); below the beast an inscription explains that the beast stands on the sea. The inscriptions draw from other biblical sources of the Antichrist tradition as well. The sea beast's mouth, for example, is inscribed with Antichrist's great blasphemy, "Ego sum Christus," a borrowing from Matthew 24:5. This gloss, then, expands the simple Apocalypse statement that the beast speaks great blasphemies. Below, the two-horned beast from the earth is inscribed as "Antichristus" and another inscription notes that the men on the right worship an idol. The tree held by the two-horned beast obviously refers to Antichrist's miracles, while the marks on the hands of the kneeling men portray the mark of the beast. This one illustra-

tion sets forth many details and some important explanations of the Antichrist tradition.

The block book Apocalypses also portray the symbolic creatures of chapter 13 as literal beasts. Usually in eight fully inscribed pictures, these fifteenth-century works carefully define the relationship between the dragon, the seven-headed beast, and the two-horned beast. The first illustration shows the beast rising from the sea, and the second portrays the sea beast facing the dragon while reaching for its scepter. The inscriptions crowd the two creatures, identifying them ("draco est dyabolus . . . et bestie id est antichristus . . ."), and explaining that the beast's seven heads represent the seven vices.[17] The other illustrations explicitly organize the details of Apocalypse 13 into six scenes. Two show people as they worship first the dragon and then the beast (verse 4). In the remainder, the beast conquers soldiers by trampling them underfoot (verse 7), the misled people worship the beast while fire falls from heaven (verses 11–13), the converts, directed by the two-horned beast, worship the image of the seven-headed beast (verse 15), and the two-horned beast preaches and performs miracles (verse 16). The illustration of verse 15 is particularly interesting because it portrays not only the literal image of the seven-headed beast and the deceits of the two-horned beast, but also a human, crowned Antichrist. To the right in this picture, which resembles the illustration in the *Wellcome Apocalypse* (ca. 1420–25), a group of five converts kneel before a statue of the seven-headed beast, while directly behind them, in the middle of the picture, the two-horned beast sits on a mound and extends his arms toward the idol.[18] A bearded and crowned Antichrist also stands behind the mound, and he looks over his shoulder at the two-horned beast, while he directs on the left of the picture an executioner who slaughters the faithful. The illustration thereby portrays the symbols of Antichrist both literally, as imaginary creatures, and symbolically, as a tyrant king who kills faithful Christians.

Similarly, the beautifully illuminated Apocalypse painted between 1428 and 1435 by Jean Bapteur and Péronet Lamy and

finished in the late fifteenth century by Jean Colombe emphasizes the traditional identification of the seven-headed beast and Antichrist by including the two figures in the first picture illustrating Apocalypse 13. On the right the beast is shown rising out of water, the gloss below explaining that "Hec bestia antichristum significat."[19] On the left, illustrating the gloss, the picture portrays a man dressed in a dark hooded cloak, standing behind a pulpit and pointing to the right towards the beast. Below the pulpit, others in hooded cloaks give gifts to a group of people representing those who are converted to Antichrist's deceit by bribes and false doctrine. The man behind the pulpit is inscribed "Antichristus." He is shown wearing a crossed nimbus—in Christian iconography traditionally reserved for Christ—an effective means of portraying Antichrist's blasphemous claim, "Ego sum Christus." In one skillfully executed picture, the artists were able to illustrate not only the gloss interpreting the beast, but also traditional explanations of Antichrist's character and deeds.

Since the beast from the sea is almost always identified by commentaries and by inscriptions as Antichrist, even the literal portrayals of the beast are sometimes influenced by illustrations of a human Antichrist, a tyrant who is portrayed holding a sword, sitting enthroned with his legs crossed, and giving orders to his henchmen. For example, the *Dyson Perrins, Crowland,* and *Canonici Apocalypses* portray the leopardlike beast from the sea as sitting on a throne with legs crossed.[20] Giving the beast this human characteristic helps once again to identify the symbol with Antichrist, as if the artists wished to insure the interpretation of the symbol even while portraying it literally. On the other hand, the human Antichrist is often portrayed with bestial characteristics. The French Moralized Bibles, beautifully illustrated picture books from the thirteenth century, generally depict Antichrist as a king, but his head has three faces, perhaps an indication of his hypocrisy or his parody of the Trinity. This three-faced Antichrist also may reflect portrayals of a three-faced Satan, which, as Robert Hughes notes, may be ultimately traced to pictures of Cerberus.[21] Whatever the source, the Moralized Bibles also show

the human Antichrist as horned, and beginning with the illustrations of Apocalypse 13, he is seven-headed and ten-horned (see figure 2). The symbolic interpretation of the human Antichrist here reflects the literal description of the beast from the sea. Other illuminated manuscripts provide Antichrist with such monstrous characteristics as a hairy body, tail, claws for hands, and hooves for feet.

Medieval art also illustrates other apocalyptic symbols important in the Antichrist tradition. For example, the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse of the Pierpont Morgan Library (MS 524, ca. 1245) identifies the beast that rises from the sea as Antichrist throughout the Apocalypse, wherever the beast appears from chapters 13 to 20. It also closely follows the interpretation of Antichrist as both the seventh head and the tail of the dragon by placing the seventh head on the dragon's tail and inscribing it "cauda draconis Antichristum significant."[22] The block book Apocalypses also represent the three symbols of Apocalypse 16 literally. Devoting a full page to the scene, they show frogs spewing from the mouths of the dragon, the seven-headed beast, and the false-prophet beast, and an inscription identifies the frogs with the disciples of Antichrist.[23] The block books also illustrate Apocalypse 17:3–4 with two pictures of the whore of Babylon, and one manuscript of the *Liber floridus* portrays the Babylonian whore riding on the seven-headed beast and identifies one of the beast's heads as representing Antichrist.[24]

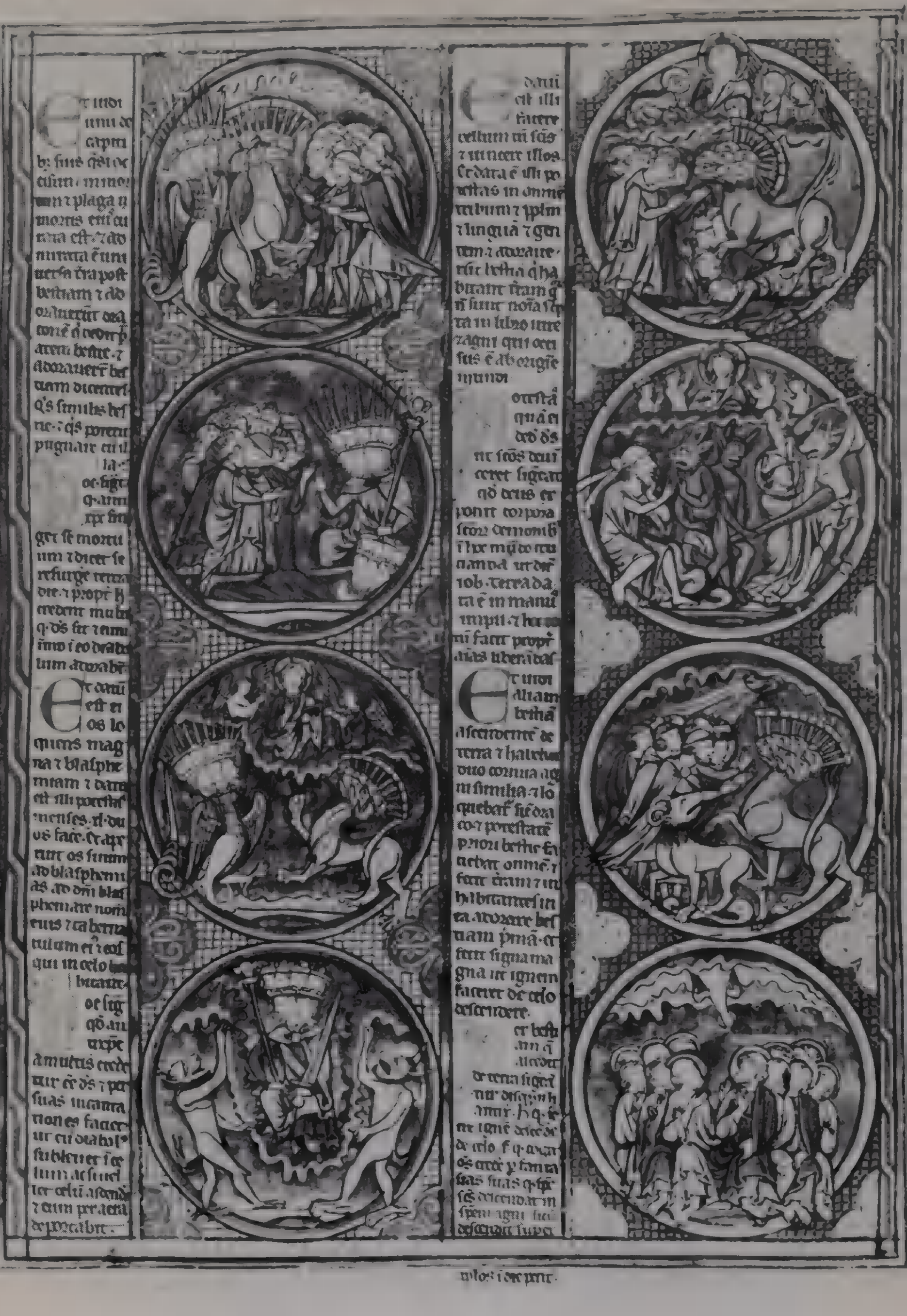
A final example of the illustration of Antichrist's symbols is found in the portrayal of the two beasts of Job, Behemoth and Leviathan. The *Liber floridus* interprets them as symbols of the devil and Antichrist and emphasizes the close relationship between the two wicked beings. In one picture a horned devil is shown riding upon a quadruped Behemoth. Below the illustration a text explains the nature of Behemoth, whereas the inscription in the illustration identifies the two creatures: "Diabolus sedens super Beemoth orientis bestiam singularem et solam, id est Antichristum."[25] In an accompanying representation a crowned Antichrist sits enthroned on the winding tail of a dragonlike Leviathan (see fig. 1). Antichrist is portrayed as a

normal human being; Leviathan stands upon the water and breathes fire from his mouth. The inscription at the top of the scene once again identifies the two: "Antichristus sedens super Leviathan serpentem diabolum signantem, bestiam crudelem, in fine." Within the oval area formed by Leviathan's winding tail, other inscriptions detail the expectations concerning Antichrist's origins and birth. Like the illustrations of Apocalypse 13 that show the dragon and the beast from the sea face to face gripping the same sword or scepter, the two illustrations in the *Liber floridus* depict Antichrist's close identification with the devil. Following the interpretations of Gregory's influential *Moralia,* the illustrations both portray the creatures literally and, with the help of the inscriptions, explain them symbolically as representing Antichrist's evil.

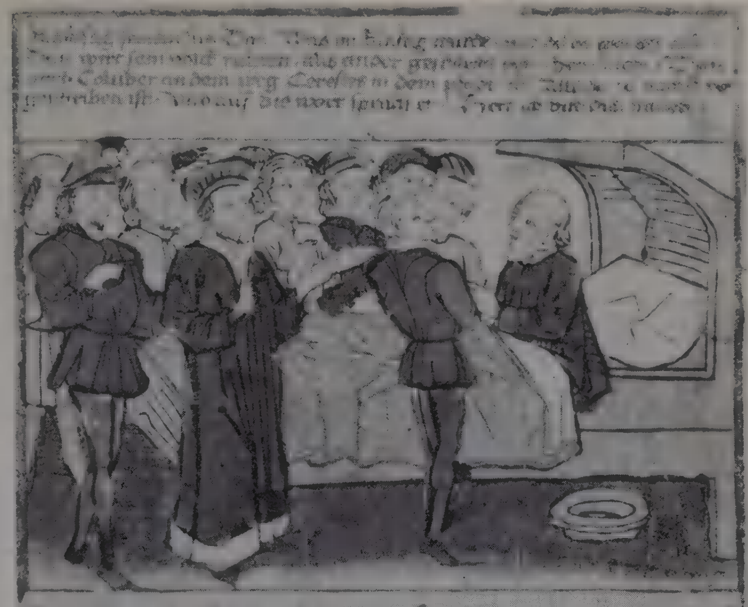
Medieval art thus generally follows the exegetical tradition in identifying the apocalyptic symbols with Antichrist and his supporters. One illustrative tradition that stands in contrast to these interpretations, however, is based upon the commentary of Alexander Minorita (ca. 1242), which reads the Apocalypse as a linear history culminating in the New Jerusalem, interpreted as the establishment of the Franciscan order. The various creatures of Apocalypse 11 and 13, according to this interpretation, signify historical figures from the past rather than Antichrist in the future. Representative of this tradition is a painted altarpiece by Master Bertram of Hamburg (ca. 1340–ca. 1415), now at the Victoria and Albert Museum.[26] It interprets the apocalyptic symbols as historical characters and identifies them in inscriptions that surround each scene from the Apocalypse. The illustration for chapter 11, for example, shows on the left two mitered figures, while on the right a soldier swings a sword, killing the religious. In an insert in the upper right-hand corner of the illustration, the two preachers are shown rising to heaven. The inscription for the scene identifies the two martyrs as Pope Silverius and Patriarch Menas, and the beast/soldier as Belisarius. In a similar historical interpretation, the illustration of Apocalypse 13 identifies the seven-headed beast as Chosroes II, king of Persia, and the two-horned beast as Mohammed. Although in



1. Antichrist seated upon Leviathan (*Liber floridus*, Ghent, University Library, MS 92, fol. 62v)



2. Symbolism of Apocalypse 13 (Moralized Bible, London, British Library, Harley 1527, fol. 136v. Reproduced by permission of the British Library)





3. The death of Jacob and the conception of Antichrist (*Das Puch von dem Entkrist*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Xyl. 1)

4. Antichrist makes the roots of a tree bloom (Anglo-Norman Apocalypse, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 524, fol. 7r)

5. Antichrist seated in the temple; Christians bribed and threatened (Anglo-Norman Apocalypse, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 524, fol. 7v)



6. Antichrist supervises the torture of Christians (*Livre de la Vigne Nostre Seigneur*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 134, fol. 30r)

7. Antichrist kills Enoch and Elias (Saint Sever Beatus Apocalypse, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 8878, fol. 155r)

8. Antichrist as the Beast from the Abyss kills Enoch and Elias (Anglo-Norman Apocalypse, Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Museum, MS L.A. 139, fol. 26r)

Der Enndkrist erstat an dem dritten tag· Vnd spricht zu den fursten vnd herren · vnd zu allem anderm volck· Secht das ich warer got vnd mensch bin· Vnd alsdann so knien sy für in nider vnd pette in an



Der Enndkrist macht durch dy kunst des Teufels· vnd durch zauberey das feür von hymel fellet auf sein junger· Des überheben sy sich dann vnd sprechen sy sein pesser dann die junger vnsers herren xpi ihu die den hailigen gaist enpfiengen

9. Antichrist's pseudo-Resurrection and Pentecost (*Das Puch von dem Entkrist,* Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Xyl. 1)

pointed caps

10. The death of Antichrist and the resurrection of Enoch and Elias (Anglo-Norman Apocalypse, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 403, fol. 18r)

11. The fall of Antichrist (*Wellcome Apocalypse,* London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, MS 49, fol. 13r)

some iconographic details the altarpiece reflects the influence of the popular Anglo-Norman Apocalypses, it follows a distinctly different interpretative tradition. The Anglo-Norman Apocalypses, greatly influenced by the commentary of Berengaudus, are in the mainstream of the medieval Antichrist tradition, whereas the altarpiece and the manuscripts following the commentary of Alexander Minorita reflect historical interpretations developing in the later Middle Ages that would greatly influence the Reformation understanding of the Apocalypse.

Medieval art also illustrates the types of Antichrist. As discussed in chapter 1 of this book (pages 24–31), one of the main sources for the development of the medieval tradition was the systematic identification of types of Antichrist who, because they opposed God and his people throughout history, were understood to prefigure the great leader of evil in the last days. The popular *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, both influential picture books that are arranged to illustrate the Old Testament types of Christ, do not include the types of Antichrist.[27] But Antichrist is a part of one typologically organized scheme that includes eschatological subject matter. Although it is not illustrated, the *Pictor in carmine* (ca. 1200), a treatise that M.R. James calls "the largest known collection of types and antitypes intended to be used by artists," suggests 138 New Testament scenes from the Annunciation to Doomsday to be portrayed along with 508 Old Testament types.[28] James states that the *Pictor* ignores the Apocalypse. However, it does conclude with eschatological subjects drawn from Apocalypse interpretations, including six suggested types for the heretics in the church, four types for Antichrist's claim to be God, and eight types for the conversion of the Jews by Enoch and Elias.

Illustrations of the types of Antichrist especially influenced the portrayal of Antichrist as a human being. In fact, the earliest extant representation of Antichrist as a man may be based on a typological interpretation of the Psalms. If the illustrator of the *Corbie Psalter* (ca. 800) was influenced by the commentary of Cassiodorus, as Jean Porcher suggests, then the human figure in the psalter's illustration of the initial "Q" of Psalm 51 may represent

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Antichrist.[29] In his commentary Cassiodorus interprets the wicked Doeg Idumaeus described in Psalm 51 as a type of Antichrist. Historically, Doeg was the chief of Saul's herdsmen and the enemy of David. He executed the priests who aided David when he was threatened by Saul. However, the *Corbie Psalter* illustration portrays a man crowned and seated on a throne, motifs that although not suggested in the psalm may refer to the understanding of Antichrist as a tyrannical king. The initial is formed by two creatures that resemble in some respects the serpent Leviathan and the quadruped Behemoth. A narrow serpent encircles the crowned figure with its tail, which forms the oval of the initial "Q". The curlicue delineating the bottom of the initial "Q" is formed by a Behemoth-like winged monster, which jumps through a small circle created by the serpent's entwined tongue and tail. The human figure within the initial holds the reins of this monster and looks over his right shoulder. He is pulled downward by the monster, apparently into the ruin that the psalm promises for the man of evil.

Other Old Testament types of Antichrist are illustrated in the thirteenth-century French Moralized Bibles. These picture Bibles especially reflect the direct relationship between the biblical text, the exegetical interpretation, and the artistic illustration of Antichrist. The Bibles include two miniatures arranged one above the other for each biblical scene chosen to be illustrated (see, for example, figure 2). The top miniature illustrates the literal reading of the scene described in the text, presenting the type of Antichrist as historical fact. The lower miniature illustrates the typological interpretation of the text, which is explained in the inscriptions on the left of each miniature. For example, the Vienna Bible (ca. 1220–30) first illustrates Judges 6:25–27 literally by portraying Gideon destroying a pagan god. Typologically, Gideon represents Christ and the pagan god represents Antichrist. The second miniature for the scene, therefore, shows Christ driving away several evil men, including a three-faced Antichrist.[30] Similarly, the Moralized Bible illustrations of Judges 9:5 depict in the first of the two miniatures the wicked Abimelech, who wields a sword and orders the death of

his brothers. Immediately below, in the accompanying miniature, Antichrist orders the killing of Christian martyrs. His pose is remarkably similar to Abimelech's although Antichrist's three faces differentiate him from his type. In other scenes the Moralized Bibles emphasize the similarities between Abimelech and Antichrist. The miniatures for Judges 9:7–15 depict Jotham as he speaks against Abimelech on the one hand, and Enoch and Elias as they preach against Antichrist on the other. The Bibles portray several other biblical types of Antichrist as well, including the Philistines, Isboseth (2 Sam. 2), Holofernes (Judith 12), and Herod.

Manuscript illustrations also depict Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist. For example, the Moralized Bibles illustrate 2 Maccabees 6:18–19 by picturing Antiochus ordering the death of Eleazar the priest. In an accompanying miniature, a kingly Antichrist orders the execution of Enoch and Elias.[31] Like the earlier illustrations of Abimelech, these illustrations of Antiochus interpret even the biblical personages associated with the type of Antichrist according to traditional Antichrist exegesis. Jotham, who opposed Abimelech, and Eleazar, who opposed Antiochus, become types of Enoch and Elias, who in the last days will oppose Antichrist—typified by Abimelech and Antiochus. The fifteenth-century spiritual encyclopedia described by F. Saxl (Rome, MS Casanatensis) also identifies Antiochus as a type of Antichrist.[32] In one picture (fol. 31v), a crowned Antiochus is inscribed as Antichrist. Similarly, Antiochus is identified with Antichrist in a long, amply inscribed picture spread across the top register of two facing folios (fol. 30v–31r). The spiritual encyclopedia portrays two sceptered figures, seated one on each side of the register, facing one another. On the far right (fol. 31r), the King of the South sits (Dan. 11:5). He is identified as Christ. On the far left (fol. 30v) sits the King of the North, portrayed with a long, pointed nose. He has a double identification: As an evil king, he is Antiochus Epiphanes; as the opponent of Christ, he is Antichrist. As their types were opponents, so are Christ and Antichrist opponents.

The spiritual encyclopedia portrays Antichrist as opponent of

Christ even more explicitly in the third register of its facing folios. Here the manuscript illustration is particularly symmetrical. Its iconography depends on the traditional interpretation of Antichrist as imitator of Christ, a pseudo-Christ who is, in actuality, "Christo contrarius." On the far right (fol. 31r) a dove sits over a cradle holding the Christ child. Immediately to the left an adult Christ preaches the gospel. He raises his right hand in blessing and looks on a cross that bears the wreath of victory. On the facing folio, to the far left (fol. 30v), a devil guards a cradle holding the Antichrist child. Immediately to the right an adult crowned Antichrist sits enthroned and holds a scepter and a sword. Next on the right, Antichrist, his crown tumbling from his head, falls from glory, and a city is destroyed by an earthquake. These three scenes from Antichrist's life parody specific scenes from Christ's life. A devil replaces the dove/Holy Spirit of Christ's birth, a royal king with a crown replaces a humble teacher with a halo representing Christ's ministry, and a violent political fall replaces the triumphal cross, symbolic of Christ's redeeming sacrifice. Immediately below this parodic comparison of Antichrist and Christ, the fourth and last register of the facing folios depicts an allegorical opposition of good and evil. Here the Christ and the pure church on the right folio are opposed by the devil and the corrupt church on the left folio. The illustrations of each register thus share a common theme—the contrast between good and evil. This contrast is emphasized by the parallel drawings and is represented typologically by the King of the South and the King of the North, historically by Christ and Antichrist, and allegorically by Ecclesia and the Castle of Simony.

The most widely illustrated type of Antichrist, however, is Simon Magus, perhaps the best known forerunner of the pseudo-Christ. The magician is not always identified as a type of Antichrist, but his iconography often shares motifs with Antichrist's and may very well have influenced the portrayal of the human Antichrist. Generally, Simon Magus is also associated in illustrations with Peter and Paul and with Nero, a type of Antichrist the tyrant. Like the pseudo-Messiah, Simon has Jewish supporters.

He is depicted pretending to have died and be resurrected, thereby parodying Christ's Resurrection and imitating what will be one of Antichrist's most effective false miracles. He is also shown pretending to fly to heaven and, cursed by the apostles, falling headlong to the ground. This is the most popular scene in illustrations of the Simon Magus legend. It is carved in the historiated capitals of the cathedrals at Ripoll and Autun and portrayed in the cathedral windows at Chartres, Bourges, Tours, Reims, and Poitiers. The fall of Simon resembles Antichrist's death since both deceivers fall while attempting to imitate Christ's ascension. A window of Angers Cathedral (thirteenth century) shows Simon in two scenes, first held by devils, then falling from the devils. Similarly, a Renaissance window (ca. 1509) of Cologne Cathedral shows Peter cursing Simon Magus, who falls from his devilish supporters downward between the watching apostles and Nero.[33] The scene is part of a series of windows that illustrate the life of Peter, including his confrontation with Nero.

Manuscripts also illustrate the legendary relationship between Nero, Peter, and Simon Magus. For example, a ninth-century Byzantine psalter of the Monastery of Pantacrator, Mount Athos, portrays Peter's victory over Simon Magus in its illustration of Psalm 51:9. Peter is shown nimbed and standing on Simon, who lies on his back, looking up at the apostle. Similarly, another Byzantine psalter, one copied in 1066, portrays the same scene but, to represent the apostle's spiritual victory over Simon's material power, shows a spilled amphora and gold pieces scattered on the ground near Simon.[34] More details of the confrontation between Peter and Simon are illustrated in the late tenth-century antiphonary (MS Bibl. nat. lat. 9448), which includes three scenes: a crowned Nero with Peter, Paul and Simon Magus; Simon's devilish flight into the sky; and the magician's eventual fall. The Bible of King Sancho el Fuerte (1194-1234) also pictures both Nero and Peter, as well as Simon Magus, who hurls headlong from the claws of two winged devils. In the beautifully illuminated *Belles Heures* (ca. 1410-1413) of Jean, the Duke of Berry, the Limbourg brothers portray Simon

falling headlong from the sky near the tower of a building, while two demons fly in the air nearby and several men watch on the ground, including the kneeling Peter and Paul.[35] Because of the widely discussed relationship between Antichrist and Simon Magus, these illustrations of the magician's fall probably influenced the iconography of Antichrist's death (see pages 141–44).

The medieval legends of Antichrist and Simon Magus share other features; for example, both deceivers have power to work false miracles. Such a relationship is emphasized in the two illustrations in the *Gulbenkian Apocalypse* (fol. 39v) that portray Apocalypse 13:14-15. Both Antichrist and Simon Magus are understood to be symbolized by the two-horned beast that rises from the earth—the false prophet who works false miracles. The first picture, illustrating the biblical text, shows the literal beast as it kills the faithful on the one hand and directs the worship of the seven-headed beast on the other. The second portrayal, which illustrates the Berengaudus commentary included in the Apocalypse, shows a winged Simon Magus on the left. Dressed as a magician, he is able to raise the dead. On the right, Antichrist also raises the dead and holds a scroll inscribed "Potestatem habeo suscitare mortuos."[36] The two illustrations thus not only portray the literal beasts of Apocalypse 13 but also represent the exegetical interpretation of the symbols and the close relationship between Antichrist and his type.

Illustrations of Antichrist's Life and Deeds

The understanding of Antichrist's life as an outward imitation of Christ's life also influenced the medieval iconography of Antichrist. In later illustrations the human Antichrist comes increasingly to resemble Christ. The artistic tradition also developed a series of pictures illustrating a *vita* of Antichrist that in many ways resembled the literary *vitae* begun in Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo*. The Velislav Bible, for example, emphasizes the parodic life of Antichrist by devoting twenty-two of its 747 illustrations to Antichrist's life; unfortunately, the life cycle is incomplete, for the Bible is missing eight folios. The Velislav Bible is unique in

its placement of the *vita*. One would expect an illustrated life of Antichrist to appear in the Apocalypse, but the Bible juxtaposes its *vita* with its gospel pictures of Christ. Significantly, in his outward appearance Antichrist closely resembles Christ. In only one picture is he shown with any bestial characteristics—four horns (fol. 131v). Otherwise, as Poesch observes, "throughout this cycle the protagonist looks amazingly like typical depictions of Christ in Western art; here his long, flowing hair and simple gown . . . set him apart from the more usual kingly tyrant or monstrous personage."[37] This parodic Antichrist is also portrayed in fifteenth-century block books that are devoted exclusively to the life of Antichrist and the Fifteen Signs of Doomsday. Autonomous books not connected with the Apocalypse, these block book *vitae* trace Antichrist's life from his conception and birth (see figure 3) through his death, especially illustrating the scenes by which Antichrist, deceptively imitating events from Christ's life, is able to mislead Christians (see figure 9). Late medieval art thus emphasizes the deceitful characteristics of Antichrist, visually underscoring the warning that he may be difficult to recognize and may therefore easily rise to power. This portrayal of Antichrist continues in the Renaissance. The fresco in Orvieto Cathedral by Luca Signorelli (1500), for example, similarly portrays Antichrist as outwardly resembling Christ (see conclusion, page 225).

Even earlier manuscripts that primarily illustrate the Apocalypse text and commentary add short life cycles of Antichrist. Often these scenes are added to the Apocalypse text immediately following the pictures illustrating chapter 11. The presentation of a human Antichrist killing the two witnesses encouraged the artists to enlarge on Antichrist's life in order to explain in more detail his nature and to illustrate more carefully the exegetical interpretations of his actions. For example, the *Hortus deliciarum* (ca. 1167–75), the spiritual encyclopedia compiled by Herrad of Landsberg and tragically destroyed by fire in 1870, included an early life cycle that begins with the preaching of the witnesses and culminates with Antichrist's death.[38] One group of Anglo-Norman Apocalypses, represented by Pierpont Morgan,

MS 524, also inserts an early grouping of scenes depicting Antichrist's life. The five scenes portray the witnesses addressing Antichrist, their death, Antichrist's miracle of making the roots of an upturned tree bloom (see figure 4), his bribing of followers and killing of the faithful (see figure 5), and his death.[39] This arrangement continues in the block book Apocalypses of the fifteenth century, with the scenes becoming more complex and detailed. The early fifteenth-century *Wellcome Apocalypse*, which may have influenced the block books, devotes six folios, each illustrated with three scenes, to the life of Antichrist (fols. 10v-13r). Again, the *vita* follows the manuscript's illustrations of the two witnesses of Apocalypse 11.

The remainder of this chapter describes the portrayal of Antichrist's life in medieval art. Since its purpose is not to trace the development of the iconography, but instead to further elucidate the medieval understanding of Antichrist, the following analysis will not be organized chronologically or by manuscript traditions. Instead, its organization parallels that of chapter 3 of this book and follows the details of Antichrist's life. It shows that in interpreting the symbols and types of Antichrist and developing his *vita*, medieval art represents quite thoroughly most features of the medieval Antichrist tradition.

Although not popular in medieval iconography, the devil-inspired conception of Antichrist and his devilish birth are pictured in later manuscripts. The Velislav Bible includes both events in two scenes on one folio (fol. 130v). In the top scene, a man and a woman embrace on a bench in a garden, their actions directed by a devilish winged angel. The bottom illustration pictures Antichrist's mother as she lies in bed. Behind her stands a grotesque devil with pointed ears, long and jagged nose, hairy body, and clawed feet, while to her side a similar devil places the infant Antichrist on a pedestal. The inscription above the first scene refers to the devil taking possession of the mother's womb and explains that Antichrist is called the "son of perdition," and the second scene is inscribed with the particulars of Antichrist's birth. The block book *vitae* even more explicitly illustrate Antichrist's diabolic conception and birth. Illustrations may show a

couple copulating in bed, surrounding by devils (see figure 3) or a winged devil pulling the baby Antichrist from his mother's womb.[40]

From his very birth, therefore, Antichrist is portrayed as devil inspired and devil controlled. Many pictures of Antichrist, even those that envision him as a normal man, emphasize his very close relationship with the devil. The block book *vitae* are filled with devils thoroughly involved in Antichrist's activities. Even the Velislav Bible, which pictures Antichrist as outwardly Christ-like, shows a large-eared, pointed-nosed, grinning devil behind Antichrist in almost every scene and, in two scenes, a small devil hovering above Antichrist's converts. The illustration of the Berengaudus commentary on Apocalypse 16:13 in the *Gulbenkian Apocalypse* (fol. 56v) shows a demon-inspired Antichrist speaking to three disciples. One has a devil flying from his mouth; the other two have devils whispering in their ears. The richly illustrated manuscript Bodleian Douce 134 (ca. 1450–70) emphasizes Antichrist's double nature—totally human and yet devil inspired—by picturing a human Antichrist with the face of a young man. Above his head, though, sits a grinning red-faced, two-horned devil's head. Another fifteenth-century portrayal of Antichrist is included in a French version of the *Legenda aurea.* Antichrist here is shown enthroned, worshiped by Jews and others, while behind the throne on each side a devil presides over the pseudo-Christ's deceits. Similarly, two small devils, one at each ear of Antichrist, are pictured in the fifteenth-century *Vie de l'Antechrist.*[41] The deceiver stands behind a pulpit distributing moneys and preaching, while below him lie discarded a crucifix and other religious artifacts.

The artist was thereby able to establish Antichrist's true nature even while portraying him as superficially like Christ. Antichrist is, after all, the "son of the devil." His close tie to his "father" is, in fact, particularly obvious in the *Hortus deliciarum,* where, in a grand presentation of the sinners in hell, a childlike Antichrist sits on the left knee of a chained Satan in a posture very reminiscent of the Madonna and child.[42] Other media portray similar scenes of Antichrist in hell. For example, the mosaic Last Judg-

ment in Torcello Cathedral (twelfth century) likewise shows Antichrist sitting on Satan's knee. In its fourth register from the top, the mosaic depicts some angels pushing sinners into a hell ruled by Satan and his "son" Antichrist. In another twelfth-century depiction resembling this scene, an ivory carving now in the Victoria and Albert Museum shows a childlike Antichrist cradled in the arms of Satan, who sits on a dragonlike monster. The scene serves as a counterpart in the Last Judgment of the representation of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, also included in the ivory carving. These Last Judgment scenes, which reflect Byzantine influence, may very well be related to an illustration in an eleventh-century Greek manuscript of the gospels: In its portrayal of the Last Judgment, a small figure sits on Satan's lap.[43]

Other pictures of Antichrist refer to the specifics of his origins, even when not illustrating his birth. For example, the inscription on the first picture of the *Wellcome Apocalypse* life cycle (fol. 10v) notes that Antichrist is born in Babylon from the tribe of Dan. This traditional belief is also inscribed in the Velislav Bible (fol. 130v) and in the Bible of King Sancho, which quotes from the *Tiburtine Oracle:* "In tempore illos surget princeps iniquitatis de tribu dan qui vocabitur antichristus . . ." (fol. 249r). Antichrist's origin from the tribe of Dan is particularly emphasized in the block book *vitae.* In one arrangement the block books devote two suggestively similar woodcuts on one page to Antichrist's origins (see figure 3). The top woodcut shows Jacob's deathbed blessing of his sons. It includes Dan in the foreground, dressed in a reddish cloak. The inscription for the scene refers to Dan as a viper, an allusion to the influential text (Gen. 49:17) by which exegetes interpreted Antichrist to be born from the tribe of Dan. In the bottom woodcut, a father and daughter copulate in bed. The bed, which is similar to Jacob's and is covered with reddish sheets, is surrounded by five devils who, in the *vitae,* will become Antichrist's family. The scene's inscription once again refers to Antichrist's conception. The portrait of Antichrist enthroned on Leviathan in the *Liber floridus* (fol. 62v) likewise refers to his origins from Dan but follows the *Pseudo-*

Methodius tradition that identifies as his birthplace and youthful homes Chorozaim, Bethsaida, and Capernaum (see figure 1).

Not surprisingly, medieval art also closely ties Antichrist to the Jews. His followers usually wear the pointed Jew's cap, and inscriptions sometimes note that he will first deceive the Jews. Both the Velislav Bible (fol. 131r) and the block books, moreover, show his circumcision and his journey to Jerusalem to rebuild the temple and to convert the Jews. The Velislav Bible (fol. 135v) also depicts the Jews worshiping the image of Antichrist placed in the temple ("the abomination of desolation") while in the same illustration Antichrist directs the rebuilding.

The general signs preceding Antichrist's coming are not usually illustrated as part of his life cycle, perhaps because Apocalypse manuscripts are already filled with the signs of the end that can be associated with his appearance. Furthermore, the Fifteen Signs of Doomsday, which follow Antichrist's reign chronologically, were not illustrated until relatively late in medieval art but became significant in the block book *vitae* and in much art not portraying Antichrist.[44] However, illustrations of the Apocalypse and some independent Antichrist life cycles depict one important sign, the release of Gog and Magog. In the literal illustrations of the Apocalypse, they are led by the dragon/devil after he is released from his thousand-year imprisonment. The Anglo-Norman Apocalypses, Lambeth Palace, MS 209 (fol. 36r) and Bibl. nat., fr. 403 (fol. 39v), for example, depict a group of soldiers wearing armor and helmets and carrying weapons. They follow the seven-headed dragon out of hell's mouth and prepare to attack the holy city. Gog and Magog are often shown fighting the armies of the righteous, the "Castra Sanctorum" (Apoc. 20:9). In the *Burgo de Osma Apocalypse* (ca. 1086), an illuminated Beatus manuscript, Gog and Magog are two large men inspired by a devil to pull two saints from an arched building.[45] In more symbolic interpretations, Antichrist is their leader and they become his followers, as disciples, armies, or heretics. They may be portrayed, moreover, as two single men—for instance, as Mohammed and Saladin—or as large armies—the peoples of

Gog and Magog.[46] In the *Hortus deliciarum* they watch as Antichrist kills the two witnesses (fol. 241v). Usually they are normal human beings, two warriors, but in some illustrations, apparently influenced by the *Pseudo-Methodius* tradition describing barbaric peoples, they are monstrous men. For example, two manuscripts of the illustrated *In Apocalypsim* of Alexander Minorita represent them as human idols with bestial heads.[47] Their connection with the legend of Alexander the Great is also evident in illustrations showing Gog and Magog breaking the gates of the Caucasus.[48] Both the Velislav Bible (fol. 134v) and the *Wellcome Apocalypse* (fol. 11r) show them hidden behind mountains, the Velislav gloss referring to the ten lost tribes. Similarly, the Bible of King Sancho pictures them as warriors on horses and quotes from the *Tiburtine Oracle* to identify them: "Et exurgent ab aquilone spurcissime gentes quas alexander inclusit. Gog vidilicet et magog" (fol. 249v).

Medieval art clearly illustrates the double nature of Antichrist's rule. The source of artistic portrayals of both his tyranny and his deceit lies in interpretations of the apocalyptic creatures that describe Antichrist as both a persecutor and a worker of marvels. Illustrations of chapter 11, for example, often show a human Antichrist who orders the death of the two witnesses (see figure 7), whereas manuscripts illustrating exegetical interpretations of chapter 13, such as the *Gulbenkian Apocalypse* (fol. 34v), portray the deceitful Antichrist. A full-page illustration of the tradition in the Psalter of Saint Louis and Blanche of Castille (1223–26) devotes two of its five roundels to Antichrist's deceit. In the top miniature, the deceiver is shown as very Christlike, holding a book, and preaching to Jews outside a walled city, whereas in another scene Antichrist is portrayed preaching from a wall. He is flanked by two religious and is received by groups of people who ponder his words.[49] Later life-cycle illustrations especially emphasize his deceitful nature. The Velislav Bible continually portrays Antichrist as a preacher who, introducing his new laws, successfully deceives a wide variety of peoples. The block book *vitae* show him sending disciples throughout the world and, as also in the *Wellcome Apocalypse* (fol. 11r),

picture the disciples preaching to the kings of Egypt and Libya and to the queen of the Amazons.

Other manuscripts clearly depict his blasphemous claims to be divine and his attacks on Christ's divinity. For instance, the *Gulbenkian Apocalypse* portrays Apocalypse 13:4–6 by showing Antichrist with a scroll claiming "Christus deus non est."[50] Later manuscripts and block books illustrate his opposition to the law of God by representing him as a book burner and as an opponent of theologians and philosophers. These apparent references to contemporary events may be traced ultimately to the expectations of Lactantius and to the actions of Antiochus Epiphanes.[51] In the *Wellcome Apocalypse* Antichrist commands that books be burned (fol. 10v), and the Velislav Bible (fol. 135r) shows him personally stoking flames filled with books of theology. The iconography of Antichrist, therefore, illustrates his false preaching, his blasphemy against the name of Christ, and his opposition to the law of God.

Traditionally, Antichrist uses four methods to gain power and to control the world, and manuscript illustrations portray these methods precisely. In addition to representing his false preaching and the work of his disciples, illustrations show Antichrist's bribes, persecutions, and miracles. Often the greedy are persuaded with money and lands. Some Anglo-Norman (see figure 5) and block book Apocalypses particularly associate the bribes of Antichrist with his sitting enthroned in the temple ("the abomination of desolation") worshiped by his converts.[52] Those who remain faithful are then either persecuted with tortures or deceived with false miracles. Artists were particularly creative in depicting Antichrist's diabolic cruelty. The *Hortus deliciarum* details a series of eight gruesome tortures devised by Antichrist and his henchmen (fol. 242r): Executioners force a man into an oven, decapitate a kneeling man, flay a nude man hung by the wrists, scourge another tied to a post, smash a man with a mace, stick a lance into a man's eye, stone another, and feed others to wild beasts. The Moralized Bibles clearly show how these tortures are intended for the faithful who are not persuaded by the gifts. First, a greedy follower clutches moneybags, exemplifying

Antichrist's use of bribes. Next, Antichrist's cohorts torture and kill those who remain faithful.[53] In one scene (fol. 11v), the *Wellcome Apocalypse* shows Antichrist lavishing gifts and money on his followers and holding a crown (apparently about to confer land and sovereignty). The fate of those not persuaded by these presents is portrayed in three following scenes (fols. 12r–12v): They are sawed in half, chopped to pieces, boiled in oil, whipped and flayed, shredded by spikes, and fed to wild beasts. The fifteenth-century treatise on Antichrist illustrated in Bodleian Douce MS 134 (fol. 30r), in addition to portraying the decapitation, stabbing, hanging, and beating of martyrs, also depicts a man falling into a well, while a horse drags another man by the feet, and an archer shoots three arrows into a fallen man. Meanwhile the enthroned Antichrist watches (see figure 6). The Velislav Bible also portrays Antichrist's several methods: It shows him preaching (fols. 131v, 132r, 133r), giving numerous gifts (fols. 132v, 133v), leading several kings to mountains of silver and gold, the hidden treasures of the world (fol. 133r), and directing the torture and killing of the faithful (fol. 134r). In all of these scenes, a grinning devil watches Antichrist. The block book *vitae* also develop the same relationship between Antichrist's false preaching, his gifts, and the tortures.

Of course, Antichrist's most effective means of converting the world is his ability to perform miracles and wonders. Exegetes closely related his false preaching, miracles, and persecution of the faithful to the eventual conversion of Christians who will then be given Antichrist's mark as a sign. Similarly, illustrations of the two-horned beast (the false prophet) emphasize Antichrist's various deceits. The block book Apocalypses show the beast approached by the blind and the lame, apparently expecting to be miraculously cured. Most illuminated and block book Apocalypses also portray the two-horned beast as it calls fire down from heaven, one of Antichrist's most widely illustrated miracles. Some manuscripts, furthermore, specifically portray this fire as a parodic Pentecost. The Velislav Bible (fol. 133v), which so closely pictures Antichrist's life as a parody of Christ's, shows Antichrist's great deceits. He points a finger heavenward

and stands next to a column, while a devil and two followers stand behind him. To the right, the undecided Christians sit, while above their heads a small winged devil floats and fire and stones fall from the sky. The inscription, borrowed from Hugh of Strassburg's *Compendium theologicae veritatis,* explains that Antichrist's false magic will cause statues to speak, fire and stones to fall, and his followers to speak in tongues.[54]

But the best example of an illustration that interprets the fire from heaven as a pseudo-Pentecost is in the Moralized Bible, Brit. Lib., Harley MS 1527 (fol. 136v). The first of its two miniatures for Apocalypse 13:13 shows the two-horned beast and the seven-headed beast, who is worshiped by his converts (see figure 2, lower right). Fire from a headlike mask protruding from a cloud falls upon the worshipers. The second miniature for the text then emphasizes the significance of the scene. Rather than portraying Antichrist as bringing fire from heaven, it shows a very traditional Pentecost scene in which fire from a dove in a cloud is directed upon the heads of the twelve disciples. Furthermore, this Pentecost is placed in a pattern in which Antichrist's life exactly parallels both the life of Christ and the order of the apocalyptic text. The illustrations for Apocalypse 13 in the Moralized Bible (see figure 2) first show Antichrist's death and resurrection, then his pretended ascension, and finally the pseudo-Pentecost, illustrated by means of the traditional Pentecost scene.[55] Similarly, the block book *vitae* also emphasize the parodic nature of this fire from heaven by placing Antichrist's pseudo-Pentecost into a narrative sequence that parallels the New Testament events. After Antichrist has pretended to die and be resurrected, he calls down the fire from heaven (see figure 9). Then he journeys to the Mount of Olives, where he is killed while attempting to parody Christ's Ascension. In the New Testament, Pentecost follows the Ascension, but since the final act of the Antichrist legend is his death, the *vitae* portray the pseudo-Pentecost as preceding the pseudo-Ascension. The main point, however, is that the *vitae* place Antichrist's calling down the fire from heaven into a scheme that is based on the life of Christ, and by doing so, they emphasize its parodic nature.

Often Antichrist converts the unwary by performing a series of unnatural wonders. His most frequently depicted marvel involves the strange flowering of trees—he makes either a desiccated tree bloom or the roots of an upturned tree bear fruit. This unusual spectacle, along with many of the other deeds of Antichrist illustrated in medieval art, is described in Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo*. It is illustrated widely, in the *Hortus deliciarum* (fol. 241v), for example, and in the Anglo-Norman Apocalypses (e.g., Pierpont Morgan, MS 524, fol. 7r, see figure 4; Lambeth Palace, MS 209, fol. 12r; Bodleian, Auct. D.4.17, fol. 9r), the Velislav Bible (fol. 133v), the *Wellcome Apocalypse* (fol. 10v), the block book Apocalypses, and the block book *vitae*.[56] In addition, the *Wellcome Apocalypse* and the block books portray a series of other wonders based upon Adso's *Libellus*: Antichrist makes statues speak, reverses the flow of water, and controls the winds. The manuscripts also devise further unnatural phenomena not imagined by Adso: Antichrist makes a castle hang in the air, a stag come out of stone, and a warrior emerge from an egg.

The Velislav Bible also (fol. 134r) depicts his ultimate false miracle—the raising of the dead—by showing on the left of one illustration a Christ-like Antichrist with followers and a devil pointing to the right where four skeletal or draped corpses rise from graves. The inscription notes that the bodies are devil inspired, thus underscoring that it is a false miracle and referring to the exegetical explanations of Antichrist's powers. The block book *vitae* particularly tie this deceitful miracle to Antichrist's ability to convert the world. A block book printed in Strassburg (ca. 1475) includes on one page two woodcuts emphasizing the effectiveness of Antichrist's miracles.[57] The top cut shows the King of Libya, who watches as Antichrist raises the king's mother and father from the dead. The second picture shows the now-converted king as he kneels before Antichrist and is marked on his forehead.

As a result of his four methods of gaining power, Antichrist converts the Jews and many Christians. Following the exegetical interpretations of Apocalypse 13, illustrations show a variety of converts being led to worship Antichrist. These include the

Jews, sometimes inscribed "Iudei" and portrayed wearing pointed caps, and various Christian kings, bishops, and priests. Those converted are given Antichrist's mark either on the forehead or on the right hand. The literal interpretations of the biblical text show the two-horned beast marking the converts as they kneel or worship an image of the seven-headed beast, or, as in the block book Apocalypses, combine the beast's mark and miracles into one illustration. As early as in the Beatus manuscripts, however, the symbolic illustrations of the scene show the marking done by either a human Antichrist or one of his retainers.[58] In two separate scenes, the Velislav Bible depicts Antichrist marking his followers on the right hand and then on the forehead. The first scene (fol. 132r) follows his preaching, whereas the second (fol. 132v) follows his bribes. The *Wellcome Apocalypse* shows Antichrist marking the foreheads of the Jews (fol. 11r), the hand of the king of Egypt (fol. 11v), and the hands of his converts (fol. 12r), and the block book *vitae* represent four scenes of the marking of converts. The mark of the beast is thus one of the most popular scenes of the later medieval iconography of Antichrist.

The block book cycles and the *Wellcome Apocalypse* (fol. 12v) further develop the traditional explanations of the mark of the beast. In their illustrations soldiers or merchants refuse to sell to faithful Christians who lack Antichrist's mark. The Apocalypse of Trinity College, Dublin (MS K.4.31), explicitly shows the relationship between the mark and the right to buy and sell in one illustration where six men, each marked on the forehead with the letters "AN," kneel before the image of the seven-headed beast, while another man, likewise marked on the forehead, trades with a merchant who also has the mark of Antichrist. Significantly, the man points with his left hand to the letters on his forehead, apparently proving his worthiness to buy the items that are spread on a table, to which he points with his right hand.[59]

Perhaps the most interesting visual interpretations of Apocalypse 13:16, however, are the two Antichrist tables included in the numerous illustrated Beatus manuscripts. These tables at-

tempt to make sense of the symbolic interpretations of Antichrist's number, 666.[60] The first table is arranged as a large rectangle enclosing one central box inscribed "Nomen Antichrist" and surrounded by 284 small squares containing numerals and letters. It interprets the 666 as signifying seven names: Evantas, Damnatus, Antemus, Gensericus, Antichristus, Teitan, and Dic-Lux. The second table is arranged in a fashion resembling gospel-book canon tables, as an arcade framing eight long parallel columns. The first column is headed by "Antechristum," the others by Antichrist's symbolic names. Immediately below, the names are explicated according to the numerical value of their letters. The numbers are then added to make 666, the sum found at the bottom of each column.

The legend most popular in the iconography of Antichrist, as also in theological and literary works, is the expected appearance of Enoch and Elias to preach against Antichrist. It is illustrated in some of the earliest Apocalypses, such as Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. nouv. acq. 1132 and Valenciennes, Bibl. mun. MS 99. Although some of the Beatus Apocalypses identify the two witnesses as "Elias" and "Jheremias," even the literal representations of Apocalypse 11 (see figure 7) usually identify them as Enoch and Elias.[61] They are usually shown preaching against Antichrist and then killed by the tyrant. In the Bible of King Sancho, for example, a royal Antichrist directs his henchman, who holds a sword, while the two heads of the martyred prophets spurt blood and tumble onto their shoulders. The inscription, borrowed from the *Tiburtine Oracle*, notes that Enoch and Elias will appear in order to announce the advent of Christ and will then be killed by Antichrist.[62] The witnesses may also be portrayed together in art not concerned with the Antichrist tradition. Adolf Katzenellenbogen suggests, for example, that the two figures beneath the Christ in Majesty of the west central tympanum of Chartres Cathedral represent Enoch and Elias.[63] If such is the case, they are once again placed in an eschatological context. Usually the two witnesses are related closely to Antichrist, however, even in art not illustrating the Apocalypse. An illustrated *Alexander* (ca. 1430) of Rudolf von Ems, for instance,

shows the two dressed in long robes and Jewish hats as they challenge a young, winged Antichrist.[64]

Following traditional medieval exegesis, artists generally portray Enoch and Elias in illustrations of Apocalypse 11. The illuminated Beatus manuscripts, for example, often devote three illustrations to the witnesses. In the first, they preach against Antichrist; in the second, they are killed by Antichrist (see figure 7) or by one of his henchmen; and in the third, they are resurrected and taken to heaven.[65] The illustrations introducing a twelfth-century copy of Haimo of Auxerre's commentary on the Apocalypse follow a similar sequence. The bottom register of one full-page illustration portrays the witnesses as first introduced in scripture—breathing fire on their enemies (Apoc. 11:1–3)—whereas the top register of the next folio shows a two-horned serpentine beast that decapitates Enoch and Elias. To the far right of the same register, the two witnesses are also shown rising to heaven.[66] This pattern of challenge, martyrdom, and resurrection becomes standard in many works of art portraying the Antichrist tradition, and becomes the artistic equivalent of the exegetical comparisons between the ministry of Enoch and Elias and the life of Christ, whom they typify. Even illustrations that conflate many features of the tradition into one picture usually include the three scenes representing the two witnesses. For example, one fourteenth-century Bible from Italy portrays Apocalypse 11 along with many other apocalyptic scenes in one illustration. In its center it shows John measuring the temple (Apoc. 11:1) and, just below the temple, the beast from the abyss standing on a hill watching the two witnesses preach and being killed. To the far right, Enoch and Elias lie dead on the ground and then, above, rise into a cloud.[67]

Those Anglo-Norman Apocalypses that do not insert a *vita* of Antichrist within chapter 11 especially emphasize illustrations of the ministry of Enoch and Elias. Often, as in the *Dyson Perrins Apocalypse* (fols. 16v–18r), Bodleian Douce MS 180 (pp. 35–38), and Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 10474 (fols. 18r–19v), the illuminated manuscripts represent four consecutive scenes.[68] In the first the two witnesses confront Antichrist, preach against him, and

prove their divine mission by performing miracles. In the second they are killed and lie unattended for three days. In the third Antichrist's followers celebrate their deaths with feasting, dancing, and music. In the fourth Enoch and Elias are brought back to life and rise to heaven while Antichrist's startled disciples watch and a city is destroyed by earthquake.

The particular handling of these four basic scenes varies depending upon specific manuscript influences and individual artistic treatments of the exegetical explanations. The portrayal of chapter 11 is, in fact, central in art historians' analyses of the various groups of the Anglo-Norman Apocalypses. The ministry of Enoch and Elias may be expanded in some manuscripts by the addition of another scene portraying the biblical texts or revised by the substitution of a new scene for one of the basic four described above. For example, one folio of the influential *Trinity College Apocalypse* (fol. 11v) includes two representations of the prophets' preaching and miracles. In the upper picture Enoch and Elias preach against Antichrist, whereas in the lower picture they perform miracles. The *Dyson Perrins Apocalypse,* on the other hand, merges these two scenes into one (fol. 16v). It shows the prophets in the middle of the scene. Elias looks to the left and breathes fire onto his opponents. Enoch, on the other hand, looks to the right and with his staff turns water into blood. In a futher variation the *Cloisters Apocalypse* (fol. 17v) does not portray Enoch and Elias preaching but instead emphasizes their miracles. It includes one illustration split by a tree into two scenes. On the left, a witness shoots fire from his mouth onto his opponents, while on the right he points downward, directing the attention of his audience to a river in which water has been miraculously transformed into blood. The *Cloisters Apocalypse,* in yet another variation on the four basic scenes, again emphasizes the marvellous in its depiction of the resurrection of the witnesses. Instead of devoting a picture to Antichrist's followers rejoicing over the dead Enoch and Elias, the *Cloisters Apocalypse* devotes two scenes to their resurrection. In the first (fol. 18v), the witnesses lie on their backs while two doves breathe the life spirit into their mouths. Enoch and Elias then stand, as the star-

tled people watch. In the second scene (fol. 19r), a great earthquake destroys a city on the right. Some people are killed, while others watch Enoch and Elias on the left ascend into heaven. They are surrounded by a cloud, and their heads have already disappeared from view.

Some illuminated Apocalypses and the block books that follow their tradition incorporate a brief life cycle of Antichrist in their illustrations of chapter 11. In these *vitae,* a human royal Antichrist is pictured killing the two witnesses. After portraying John as he measures the temple, these Apocalypses show the two prophets confronting a seated Antichrist, who holds a long straight sword, and in a second illustration show him ordering their decapitation. Then follow two portrayals of Antichrist's career, and, finally, the last scene from the life of Antichrist, showing his death on the right and on the left portraying his followers, who mourn both his death and the deaths of the faithful he has killed. The source for this scene is the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse, Morgan MS 524 (fol. 7v). It evidently influenced the contemporary Apocalypse, Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 403 (fol. 18r).[69] But in the Paris manuscript, Antichrist's death is pictured in the middle of the illustration, while to the right Enoch and Elias are shown rising to heaven (see figure 10). This portrayal of Apocalypse 11, then, skillfully combines the conclusions of the Enoch and Elias and the Antichrist legends and sharply contrasts the eventual rewards of Antichrist and the two witnesses. The deceiver is poked and dragged into hell, whereas the representatives of Christ are finally welcomed into the blessings of heaven.

The two witnesses are central to illustrations of the Antichrist tradition in both the illuminated Apocalypses and the life cycles. The block book *vitae* especially portray their ministry as a contrast to the deceitful miracles of Antichrist and the preaching of his disciples. The *vitae* insert scenes from the Enoch and Elias legend throughout Antichrist's life. Enoch and Elias first appear early in the *vitae* to warn the faithful against Antichrist. The Strassburg block book, for example, includes three woodcuts showing the preaching of the two prophets.[70] They are placed

immediately before the illustrations of Antichrist's rise to power. Afterwards, as if enacting their warnings, Antichrist burns books, preaches his new law, and performs miracles. Later in the *vita,* when he has converted the Jews and his other supporters, marked his followers, and tortured the remnant faithful, he has Enoch and Elias killed. Here the block books include two woodcuts; in the first Antichrist directs a henchman, who swings a sword above one of the fallen prophets; in the second an angel resurrects the two prophets. Finally, after detailing the last events of Antichrist's career, the block book *vitae* devote a full page to the preaching of Enoch and Elias. This ordering of the prophets' ministry combines the earlier exegetical explanations that Enoch and Elias will convert the Jews during Antichrist's reign with later medieval expectations that the Jews and others deceived by Antichrist will accept Christianity after his death, during the period preceding the Second Advent.

The Velislav Bible does not illustrate the ministry of Enoch and Elias. Perhaps it was influenced by the tradition that the two witnesses will come at the end of Antichrist's career, just before his death. If so, then it may have originally pictured this popular legend on one of the folios now missing from the Bible's treatment of Antichrist's end. The Bible does include one scene that may borrow from the iconography of the two witnesses. On the left of the bottom illustration of folio 134v, Antichrist sits while preaching and points his right hand upwards. Behind him stand his converts and a grotesque devil. To the right he is challenged by a group of men identified by the gloss as theologians and philosophers. Their opposition resembles the ministry of Enoch and Elias, for the theologians answer Antichrist's blasphemous claim, "Ego sum Christus filius dei," with a scroll inscribed, "Tu es filius perditionis." The witnesses are similarly pictured in one group of Anglo-Norman Apocalypses (for example, Pierpont Morgan, MS 524, fol. 6v) as holding a scroll while challenging Antichrist. Furthermore, the Velislav Bible follows this scene with the martyrdom of the theologians (fol. 135r), in which the decapitation of the faithful by Antichrist's retainers resembles the Apocalypse illustrations of the execution of Enoch and Elias.

Although not represented in the Velislav Bible, the events culminating in Antichrist's fall from power are illustrated in many other works of art. The Moralized Bibles, for instance, depict Antichrist's actions immediately preceding his death. In two miniatures illustrating Apocalypse 13:3–6, Antichrist further parodies Christ (see figure 2). In the first, interpreting the recovery of the wounded head of the beast, Antichrist pretends to be dead and be resurrected. In the second, allegorizing the blasphemies of the beast, Antichrist attempts to imitate Christ's Ascension by rising into heaven with the help of demons. The *Wellcome Apocalypse* in a single illustration and the block book *vitae* in separate woodcuts likewise portray the final events. In the *Wellcome Apocalypse* (fol. 12v), Antichrist, after having converted all except a few remnant faithful, pretends to faint while his crown falls from his head. To the right he again sits on his throne after his pseudo-resurrection. The block books place these events in their proper sequence.[71] In several consecutive woodcuts, they show first the death and resurrection of Enoch and Elias, then Antichrist's pretended death, his own false resurrection (attended by a devil), and a pseudo-Pentecost during which a devil in the sky sends down flames from above (see figure 9). In the next, a full-page woodcut, Antichrist gathers all peoples to the Mount of Olives. Finally, in another full-page woodcut, he is lifted by two devils and struck down by an angel wielding a sword, while Christ watches from heaven.

Although they do not always specify the details, numerous illustrations depict Antichrist's actual death. Some illustrations of 2 Thessalonians portray Antichrist's fall from his throne, the crown slipping off his head.[72] These may also show Paul witnessing Antichrist's death, a scene that resembles the illustrations in the Apocalypses of John witnessing Antichrist's evil deeds. Clearly the iconography is influenced by the Pauline explanation of Antichrist's destruction. The Moralized Bibles show Antichrist struck down by a shaft of lightning or a rock, while Christ emerges above from a cloud and extends his hand toward Antichrist. This illustration implies that the power of Christ kills Antichrist and reflects the Pauline text and the repeated exegeti-

cal explanations that Antichrist cannot be defeated by any human. As noted above (see chapter 3, pages 102-6), however, the tradition was not certain concerning the means of his death.

Sometimes, as in the block book *vitae,* the Moralized Bibles, and the *Hortus deliciarum* (fol. 242v), an angel strikes Antichrist with a sword.[73] The *Hortus deliciarum* and the Bible of King Sancho (fol. 251r) further identify the angel as Michael. In its inscription the Bible notes that the days of persecution will be made brief and that Antichrist will be killed ultimately "a michaele archangelo in monte oliveti." But perhaps the most interesting portrayal of Antichrist's death at the hands of an angel is included in a Last Judgment fresco in the church of Santa Maria in Porto Fuori, Ravenna.[74] Painted above a pointed arch, the fresco shows Christ sitting in judgment in the center, his hands stretched outward revealing the wounds of the Passion. To his right sit Antichrist and his followers. Antichrist is a young, crowned figure, identified by an inscription. He orders the martyrdom of Enoch and Elias, who kneel before him as they are decapitated. Below them the next register portrays the saints in heaven. To Christ's left the fresco shows Antichrist once again enthroned, surrounded by his followers. However, behind him stand four angels with swords and lances. One angel, preparing to decapitate him, rests a sword on his right shoulder. Below this scene, the next register portrays demons tormenting the damned in hell. The fresco thus merges the traditional iconography of the Last Judgment with the Antichrist tradition. The righteous saved, usually portrayed on Christ's right, are symbolized by the two prophets and the saints in heaven. The damned, usually portrayed on Christ's left, are represented by Antichrist and the torments of hell. The symmetry of the scene is especially emphasized. Antichrist sits enthroned on each side of Christ, but the executioners who unjustly kill the prophets on one side are replaced on the other side by the angels of justice.

Although often Michael is Christ's agent, other illustrations show Antichrist killed by Christ himself. Both the illuminated Bodleian Douce, MS 134 (fol. 36r) and the north rose window of Nôtre Dame Cathedral, Paris, present the "spirit of Christ's

mouth" literally. In the manuscript illustration, fire falls from Christ's mouth onto Antichrist and his bewildered supporters, a scene that recalls Apocalypse illustrations of the fire that one of the witnesses shoots from his mouth onto his enemies. The Nôtre Dame window shows Christ breathing on a doomed Antichrist. Usually, though, the "spirit of Christ's mouth" is represented figuratively. It may be shown as originating from various instruments of destruction, such as a personification of thunder or a bestial lionlike head. Christ holds these instruments in his outstretched hands as he emerges from a cloud, and the instruments of wrath spew fire onto Antichrist's head (see figure 10). The Anglo-Norman and block book Apocalypses often explain this scene with an inscription from 2 Thessalonians 2:8.[75] Illustrations also show devils supervising Antichrist's fall or aiding the "spirit" by pulling or poking him into hell. For example, the thirteenth-century Psalter of Saint Louis and Blanche of Castille particularly emphasizes Antichrist's death by portraying a large bestial mouth emerging from a cloud and pouring flames below onto Antichrist, who lies dead and attended by two devils. To the right the illustration also shows a devil carrying the deceiver's soul off to hell.[76]

The *Wellcome Apocalypse* exemplifies how manuscripts can, in a single scene (fol. 13r), include many of the details surrounding Antichrist's death (see figure 11). The *Wellcome* illustration is dominated by a steep hill, which must represent the Mount of Olives. It is marked at its summit with two footprints left from either Christ's Ascension or Antichrist's unsuccessful attempt to rise to heaven. Above the hill Christ and a dove (the "spirit"?) look down from a cloud. To their left two devils float in mid-air, while below them Antichrist, his crown falling from his head, plunges headlong into the mountain. Between Christ and the devils, an angel (Michael) wields the sword that has just struck Antichrist. To the illustration's far right, Antichrist's startled followers, including some Jews, watch the entire scene.

The illustration of Antichrist's career in medieval art generally ends with pictures showing his death or, as in the Dutch and German block book *vitae*, his destination in hell.[77] Events after

his death are not usually illustrated, although some manuscripts depict the time of grace allotted for those who were deceived to repent and return to Christ. In the *Hortus deliciarum* (fol. 242v), after Antichrist's fall a group of four penitents approach a tonsured priest and the Jews are baptized. In the *Wellcome Apocalypse* (fol. 13r) and the block book *vitae,* those deceived by Antichrist continue to feast and celebrate, as in the days of Noah (Matt. 24:37–39). Apparently, they are not aware that the time of grace is short and to be followed quickly by Doomsday. The same folio of the *Wellcome Apocalypse* that represents the death of Antichrist (see figure 11) shows two scenes to follow before Doomsday. In the first, men and women feast around a table, ignoring the pleas of Enoch and Elias that they repent, and in the second a group of people huddle together, apparently startled by the preliminary signs of Doomsday prophesied by Christ (Matt. 24:29, 40–41). The sequence of this Apocalypse thereby follows the standard exegetical interpretation of the last things: first Antichrist's death, then a period of grace (forty-five days in the *Wellcome* gloss), and finally a short time for signs and wonders before Doomsday. The block books also set Antichrist's career in this eschatological context. After depicting his death and ultimate place in hell, the life cycles show his followers still rejoicing, other people listening to Enoch and Elias preach, the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday, the resurrection of the dead, and finally the Last Judgment.[78]

Medieval art thus usually portrays Antichrist, either within the context of the apocalyptic text or within a broader eschatological context, as a key figure who dominates events in the last days. The Beatus, Anglo-Norman, and block book Apocalypses emphasize both his deceits and tyranny, but generally do so in order to expand upon the relevant scriptural texts. On the other hand, the longer cycle of illustrations of Antichrist's career, as in the Velislav Bible and the fifteenth-century block book *vitae,* are concerned primarily with the tradition in itself. They especially contrast Antichrist with Christ by portraying the life of the pseudo-Christ as a parody of the life of Christ. Although illustrations of the tradition in other art media do not always link

Antichrist so closely to the relevant scriptural texts and to their exegetical interpretations, in almost all cases Antichrist is portrayed in medieval art as an eschatological character. Furthermore, following traditional exegetical intrepretations of Antichrist's symbols and types and the theological and literary *vitae* of Antichrist, medieval art develops many details of the popular legend, reflecting the widespread and continuing influence of the traditional understanding of Antichrist through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Even though many of the illustrated Apocalypses were produced after the ideas of Joachim of Fiore became widespread, the iconography of Antichrist rarely reflects Joachimist influence. It is true that some Apocalypses represent the two witnesses as Franciscans or the New Jerusalem as the Franciscan order. It is also true that some illustrations portray Antichrist polemically as the pope or as a political leader.[79] Yet the vast majority of medieval art works that portray Antichrist follow the conservative exegetical tradition represented by the commentaries of Beatus and Berengaudus, expanded on occasion by such sibylline works as the *Pseudo-Methodius* and the *Tiburtine Oracle,* and detailed and organized in works such as Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo* and Hugh of Strassburg's *Compendium theologicae veritatis.*

In Moralized Bibles, spiritual encyclopedias, illuminated Apocalypses, block book Apocalypses and *vitae,* and even in a few mosaics, frescoes, stained-glass windows, tapestries, and historiated capitals, the artistic portrayal of the Antichrist tradition popularized and greatly reinforced the theological and literary understanding of the eschatological tyrant, the deceitful leader of evil in the last days. Together with the numerous literary treatments of the tradition, the artistic illustrations testify to the variety and extent of medieval expectations of Antichrist. Since these expectations were widespread and generally familiar to most Christians, writers could make use of them for a number of literary purposes. The following chapter will analyze a few examples of Antichrist's treatment in medieval literature.

CHAPTER 5

Antichrist in Medieval Literature

During the Middle Ages, poets, preachers, historians, and dramatists further elaborated the theological understanding of Antichrist. Early Christian writers, interested in martyrdom, apologetics, the conflict between the forces of good and evil, and last-day events, found Antichrist and the legends early attached to his career to be appropriate subjects for poetic treatment. Two of the earliest Christian poets, Commodian (ca. 250) and Prudentius (ca. 348–405), describe Antichrist as one of God's greatest enemies, a real opponent that every Christian will ultimately face.[1] Commodian develops the Antichrist tradition in his long *Carmen de duobus populis,* where Antichrist is compared to Nero, and in three of his *Instructiones,* a collection of didactic acrostic and alphabetical verse that includes the "De Antechristi tempore," an important treatment of the *Nero redivivus* legend. Later vernacular literature continued to draw upon the tradition, extending the Antichrist legend into secular as well as religious popular literature. Although often only selectively used, the tradition became very widespread in a variety of literature during the High Middle Ages. Sermons, romances, allegories, and plays allude to it or to one of its features, sometimes developing extensive discussions of Antichrist's role in last-day events, sometimes merely calling to mind his deceit and tyranny to establish, for example, the significance of a character or the evils of the time. With the increased interest in apocalypticism during the later Middle Ages, Antichrist became the central figure of the literary, as well as the artistic, expression of the events preceding the end of the world.

A study of the literary image of Antichrist helps explicate the body of medieval literature that develops or alludes to the leg-

end. This literature sometimes refers to Antichrist only briefly, but by analyzing these references within the context of the popular medieval Antichrist tradition, the scholar may discover new meaning for already well-known works of literature. Even works not explicitly naming Antichrist may possibly be better understood within the apocalyptic context of the tradition. For example, recent scholarship has suggested the relevance of the literary and iconographic presentation of Antichrist for interpreting widely differing medieval works, including Dante's *Divine Comedy,* the Middle English *Second Shepherds' Play,* and the Vulgate Cycle of Arthurian romances. Although not explicitly referring to Antichrist, these works allude to the legend in order to develop the apocalyptic significance of their themes.[2] Scholarly discussions of medieval literature that does not specifically name Antichrist, however, need to be cautious in suggesting the possible influence of the tradition. It would be mistaken, for example, to detect Antichrist figures wherever a wicked character is portrayed. Furthermore, merely recognizing or identifying a character as Antichrist or Antichrist-like will seldom add to our understanding of a literary work unless we realize the complexity of the medieval tradition and distinguish between Antichrist, the devil, and other wicked individuals. It makes little sense to identify the Canon of Chaucer's *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* as "a false prophet, one who conducts black masses, and more exactly, the antichrist," and then refer to him as "the devil, or at least his most trusted assistant."[3] Finally, it is not very helpful to notice that an author is alluding to Antichrist if we do not then analyze how he has manipulated the medieval tradition for his own literary purposes. A skillful author can make even a brief mention of Antichrist effective. The very name of the great deceiver can bring to mind the complex tradition with its associations of persecution, hypocrisy, and tyranny.

The effective use of an explicit reference to Antichrist is evident in Jean de Meun's continuation of the *Roman de la Rose.* Jean draws upon the Antichrist tradition, as other medieval poets drew upon the theory of the humours, for instance, to establish a character. In his confession, Faus Semblant states:

"Je sui des vallez Antecrit,
Des larrons don il est escrit
Qu'il ont abit de saintee
E vivent entel feintee."[4]

This brief allusion underscores the hypocrisy of the speaker. Like Antichrist, he deceives others, pretending holiness while glorying in wickedness. Faus Semblant now awaits the coming of Antichrist, he states, and when Antichrist appears, he will follow him, for the forerunners of Antichrist will rally to support him. All of Antichrist's servants (in the poem, the friars) will attack the law of Rome and kill the true followers of Peter (the secular clergy). Referring to the thirteenth-century dispute between the Paris masters and the new orders, Faus Semblant speaks also of the Pseudo-Joachim *Evangelium aeternum* and of William of Saint Amour, both important in the later polemical development of the Antichrist tradition (see lines 11,717–880). However, Antichrist is important in the poem primarily because he helps characterize the hypocrite. Three thousand lines later, as the Lover gains entry into the Castle of Jealousy, he sees Faus Semblant, soon to be the father of Antichrist (lines 14,739–46):

Ce fu Faus Semblanz, li traitres,
Li fiz Barat, li faus menistres
Dame Ypocrisie sa mere,
Qui tant est aus vertuz amere
E dame Astenance Contrainte,
Qui de Faus Semblant est enceinte,
Preste d'enfanter Antecrit,
Si con je truis en livre escrit.

Faus Semblant and Astenance Contrainte are the parents of Antichrist. This genealogy may well allude to the later medieval tradition that Antichrist will be born from an evil ecclesiastic (a bishop, monk, or friar) and a nun. The tradition is only briefly mentioned in these passages, but these allusions testify to the fact that Antichrist was well known and could be effectively, though often only selectively, treated in literature.

Medieval authors could obliquely allude to Antichrist and the

legends associated with him to develop a character or strike a powerful image. This chapter, however, will not analyze the many possible allusions to the Antichrist tradition throughout medieval literature. Instead, it will concentrate on the portrayal of Antichrist in three large categories of medieval literature. These categories are distinguished according to their purposes in treating the tradition. The first, which includes sermons, histories, and didactic poetry, presents Antichrist in order to teach an essential component of Christian belief and to emphasize the significance of the times. The second, which includes three medieval plays, dramatizes the specific events of the last days to depict clearly the climactic battle between the forces of good and evil. The third, which includes two allegorical narratives, describes Antichrist's leadership of evil in order to stress the personal consequences of the conflict of good and evil.

Antichrist in Didactic Literature

The sermon literature of the Middle Ages made extensive use of the Antichrist tradition, which became, according to Henri du Lubac, "one of the principal themes" of the popular preachers.[5] As discussed in chapter 2 (pages 65–66), Augustine effectively employed the tradition in his sermons both to attack heretics and to emphasize to his congregation that in a very real sense all Christians could be Antichrists. Augustine only selectively treated the tradition in his sermons, even though, as is evident in *De civitate Dei,* he knew many of its details. In his sermons he does not discuss the origins or tyranny of Antichrist, but instead concentrates on his deceit, his "contrariness," and his pride in challenging the church and God. Later writers with the same pastoral concerns selectively drew on the tradition, usually to remind their audiences that the end of time is imminent and that each person should take appropriate action to prepare for the persecutions of the final crisis. For example, in a sermon delivered in London in 1388, Thomas Wimbledon preached the great need for the correction of society. The sermon develops a great sense of urgency, for it points to the evils of the time and

explains that a certain "doctour" argues that the great Antichrist will come in the fourteen hundredth year from the birth of Christ.[6]

This use of the tradition to impress the audience with the significance of the times and to prod each Christian to reform his life is especially evident in Old English sermons and particularly in the works of the two great homilists, Ælfric and Wulfstan. Both were influenced by the monastic reform of the tenth century, and both follow patristic exegetical eschatology. As a result, in comparison with the earlier Old English anonymous homilies, such as those in the Vercelli and Blickling collections, their homilies are theologically conservative.[7] Furthermore, their treatment of Antichrist marks the first full development of the tradition in vernacular literature.

Ælfric (ca. 955–1014/20), the abbot of Eynsham, devoted himself to an educational program intended to make available to his fellow Englishmen in their native language the most important teachings of the church. As David Knowles states, "Ælfric's real significance and greatness is as a monastic theologian and teacher of his countrymen second only to Bede and in direct spiritual descent from him."[8] The most prolific homilist of the Old English period, Ælfric wrote at least two homiliaries for Sundays and festivals, translations of the fathers, and a variety of pastoral, educational, and scientific works. In his works he is always concerned with the needs of his audience; his purpose in writing is always didactic. His desire to teach was based largely on his conviction that he was living in the last days, that the time of Antichrist was approaching, and that Doomsday was not far in the future.

Ælfric therefore gives Antichrist special prominence in his English "Preface" to the first series of *Catholic Homilies* (Thorpe 1:2–6). Here his discussion, although not complete, is remarkably detailed and concise. It reveals a full knowledge of many features of the tradition, although it is not organized according to any obvious pattern.[9] Following Matthew 24, Ælfric begins by discussing the great tribulations, the many false Christs who will

come saying "Ic eom Crist," and God's shortening the days to protect the elect. His description of Antichrist's nature follows, based on the conventional comparison of Antichrist to Christ. As Christ is both man and God, Antichrist will be "mennisc mann and soð deofol." This statement suggests that Ælfric may have thought of Antichrist as the incarnation of the devil. His understanding of Antichrist's nature is clarified, however, by his later addition to the "Preface": "þonne cymþ se antecrist, se bið mennisc man & soð deofol; he bið beȝyten mid forlire of were & of wife; And he biþ mid deofles ȝaste afylled."[10] Also, Ælfric later states that Antichrist and his followers work "þurh deofles cræft," which shows that he held the common patristic position that Antichrist is a man possessed by the devil. Ælfric's distinction of Antichrist and the devil reveals his knowledge of the traditional exegetical interpretations and represents a theological advance over the understanding of Antichrist in the anonymous *Vercelli Homilies.*[11]

Ælfric's explanation of one standard feature of the Antichrist tradition especially exemplifies his concern for his audience's understanding of last-day events. He warns his listeners that Antichrist's miracles will be a prime cause of deception for many unwary Christians. Warning that the fire that Antichrist calls from the sky in the sight of men will make him appear to be God, Ælfric compares this miraculous power with that of the devil when he called fire from above to destroy Job's flocks. But, Ælfric explains, the fire was not heavenly fire, for neither the devil nor Antichrist can actually call fire from heaven. They may only pretend. Ælfric's explanation is interesting, for it does not deny Antichrist's power but instead places a limit on that power. He is clearly troubled by this wonder, though, for in another homily (on Job, Thorpe 2:XXXV), he compares the devil's power to cause fire to fall from the sky with the future power of Antichrist, but then quickly adds again that Antichrist cannot really bring fire from heaven. Since Antichrist is not allowed in heaven, his fire is not heavenly but devilish (Thorpe 2:452). Ælfric thus concludes the account of Antichrist in his "Preface"

with the assurance that Antichrist's power is a deception. It is an important point, one that will make Christians wiser and therefore more capable of avoiding Antichrist's deceit (Thorpe 1:6).

Ælfric's relatively detailed knowledge of the Antichrist tradition is reflected in several allusions throughout his work and especially developed in the second half of his "Sermo de die iudicii" (Pope, XVIII). The sermon is based on Christ's reply in the synoptic gospels (Matt. 24; Mark 13; Luke 17) to the questions concerning the end of the world. Christ's answers became standard features of the medieval Antichrist tradition: the "abomination of desolation," the need to flee to the mountains, the numerous false Christs, the signs in the heavens, and Christ's appearance in glory. After setting down the biblical passage, Ælfric carefully interprets by following conservative patristic exegesis while remembering the needs of his audience. He explains that in the old days, before Christianity was established, men worhiped idols. Now, of course, no one does so openly, but at the end of the world, with the appearance of Antichrist, a worse idol worship will be instituted. Antichrist, through miracles, deceit, and blasphemy, will claim to be God and men will submit to him. This, Ælfric concludes, is the "abomination of desolation," when the devilish Antichrist will usurp God's glory, so that through lying signs he will convince men to worship him and to renounce the Savior (Pope 2:603). He also explains that the false Christs and prophets represent Antichrist's limbs, his lying companions who deceive many with their magic and devilish power (Pope 2:607). Ælfric's interpretation includes many other features of the tradition, such as the expected increase of evil in the last days, the "cooling of love," the great tribulation (the worst since the beginning of the world), the martyrdom of the faithful, the shortening of the days, the three-and-one-half-year rule, and the destruction of Antichrist at the Second Advent. The sermon, in fact, represents Ælfric's concern as a teacher to explicate the difficult eschatological allusions of the biblical texts so that his audience may better understand, and prepare for, the events that will soon take place.

Wulfstan (d. 1023), the bishop of London and archbishop of

York and Worcester, in his homilies develops the Antichrist tradition even more fully than does Ælfric. His genuine works include twenty-four English and four Latin homilies, of which about a fourth concentrate on eschatological themes. Although he knows the tradition well, Wulfstan is less concerned than is Ælfric with its doctrinal aspects. He especially makes use of the tradition to convince the English nation that it is in great need of repentance, that the terrors of the time are the result of wickedness, and that the end of the world is imminent. Like Ælfric, Wulfstan never attempts to forecast a specific date for Doomsday, but he is certain that it is imminent, and he views contemporary evils as the most evident sign of the end. His rhetorical zeal is increased by this certainty. The time when unlearned men will be deceived approaches, the time when Antichrist himself shall appear: "And us þincð þæt hit sy þam timan swyðe gehende, forðam þeos woruld is fram dæge to dæge a swa leng swa wyrse."[12]

Wulfstan refers to Antichrist and the time of Antichrist in several homilies, usually in connection with the signs of the end (II, III) or with the troubles of the English nation (XX). He also develops the tradition in more detail in his Latin homily "De Antichristo" (Ia), which is, as Dorothy Bethurum notes, "a skeleton outline of Adso with appropriate biblical texts inserted where necessary."[13] Yet Wulfstan is not interested as much in the career of Antichrist, which Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo* develops, as he is in the significance of that career. His concern is with the need to warn the people of the future coming of Antichrist lest they be suddenly deceived. Over half of the homily, directed to the clergy, emphasizes the need to teach and prepare the people now that the end is imminent. It is through ignorance, Wulfstan insists, that many will fall. In his translation of the Latin homily (Ia) into the vernacular (Ib), Wulfstan also notes Antichrist's great power to lead men to sin. In the vernacular homily Wulfstan, obviously conscious of his lay audience, drops many exegetical passages and specifics of the tradition, including the references in the Latin homily to the time prophecies, the shortening of the days, and Enoch and Elias. Avoiding the par-

ticulars of Antichrist's life developed in the many *vitae,* he instead concentrates on the Christian's need to remain faithful under persecution. All who do not are Antichrists, the enemies of God. Through the power of the devil, Antichrist will lead many to sin. Although he is not visible presently, his limbs are known by their works and his time of persecution approaches.

Wulfstan's "De temporibus Antichristi" (IV) is a more developed treatment of the tradition that relies on Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo* and Ælfric's "Preface." It begins by emphasizing the need to be aware as Antichrist's time approaches, for Antichrist will turn many away from God. Those he cannot deceive by false teaching and wonders, he will compel forcibly. Following Ælfric, Wulfstan contrasts Antichrist's power to injure with Christ's power to heal and then discusses Antichrist's ability to cause fire to fall from the sky. No one, Wulfstan notes, can describe the horrors of the end. He emphasizes that Antichrist's persecution of the righteous will be allowed by God because Christians deserve it for their sins and because it will purify the righteous. The persecution of the faithful, he explains, is a purgation on earth. Those who died a hundred or more years ago are now cleansed in purgatory. But those who will not have this time before Doomsday need to suffer now to be ready. Antichrist's persecution is therefore like a purgatory on earth. The homily thus not only warns of the future, but also encourages the English then faced with trials that could only become more intense under Antichrist.

Homily V, "Secundum Marcum," is Wulfstan's most developed discussion of the Antichrist tradition. Based on Mark 13 and influenced by Adso and Ælfric, it describes the terrors of the end, the reign of wickedness, the release of Satan after the thousand years, Antichrist's persecution, his working of wonders through the power of the devil and witchcraft, his three-and-one-half-year reign, his claims to be Christ, and the sufferings of the righteous who oppose him. The persecution will be worse than ever before, for now the righteous will be unable to work signs as they formerly did. The homily includes Wulfstan's first reference to Enoch and Elias in a vernacular homily, although it

only touches upon the legend. In a rhetorical question, Wulfstan asks if it is any wonder that the sinful will be oppressed by Antichrist, when he will kill even Enoch and Elias, whom God has preserved for many years. In this homily, Wulfstan particularly stresses the evils of the people who he believes are the cause of the tribulations of Antichrist. From the beginning of the homily, he details the growth of evil. He refers to Paul's account of the sins of men (2 Tim. 3:1–5), including coveteousness, pride, arrogance, and blasphemy. He adds little encouragement, except to promise that the righteous will be ultimately rewarded for standing firmly against Antichrist.

Both Ælfric and Wulfstan, therefore, develop the Antichrist tradition in their homilies not so much because they believe that their audiences need to know the details of Antichrist's life, but because the tradition helps make sense of contemporary events and, more important, emphasizes the need for reformation. Both homilists warn that Antichrist will be able to convert an ill-informed people unaware of his methods. They thus do not develop the details of Antichrist's life, for it is not so important to know, for example, of his birth in Babylon to Jewish parents of the tribe of Dan as it is to beware his miracles and deceptions. Ælfric and Wulfstan are interested in the Antichrist tradition for its hortatory value. To Ælfric, who teaches in the vernacular in order to warn of Antichrist, a knowledge of Christian belief is the surest method of withstanding the troubles and temptations of the future (Thorpe 1:4). To Wulfstan, who shows a particular interest in the general signs of the end, the growth of wickedness in the contemporary world reflects Antichrist's imminent rule. The two Old English homilists urgently warn their contemporaries to prepare for Antichrist's certain appearance.

Historians also developed the Antichrist tradition, not only to suggest the significance of the times, but also to complete their works of universal history. Again, the historical treatment of the tradition finds a model in Augustine, this time in his *City of God.* According to Augustine, Antichrist has a unique position in Christian history. As the final persecutor of the church and the forerunner of the Last Judgment, he plays a significant role in

the controversy between the heavenly and the earthly cities. In the Middle Ages Antichrist continued to be an integral part of Christian history, which R. G. Collingwood characterizes as "of necessity universal, providential, apocalyptic, and periodized."[14] Antichrist quite obviously fits well into such a view of history. His appearance at the end of the sixth age will bring the contemporary period to its close and usher in the apocalyptic "last things," which are the final installment of the universal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Even though Antichrist is of the future and not of the past, historians treated him as an historical figure, for his life and deeds are providentially predetermined and his reign of tyranny must be established. His coming is as sure as are the Second Advent and Doomsday. Historians were very interested in eschatology and especially in Antichrist, for as M. -D. Chenu points out, Antichrist helps "to explain the religious purpose" of secular history since his awaited appearance fits well into the "extra-temporal dimension of Christian time." Chenu furthermore insists that "one must therefore not treat as mere literary trimmings or as childish imagery or as obsolete theology the use they [historians] made of the theme of anti-Christ. . . ."[15]

Although not included in all chronicles, especially those dealing with specific nations and time periods, Antichrist often finds a place in the universal histories. In his study of the medieval chronicles, William Brandt notes that the universalizing chronicle "did not self-consciously pursue a single line of action, but moved about freely among a variety of interests."[16] He analyzes Matthew Paris' *Chronica majora* (mid-thirteenth century) to show that the chief criterion for selection of material was "the principle of interest." Matthew Paris was not concerned with historical relevance in the modern sense of the term, although English topics and especially topics related to St. Albans were important to him. He was interested, instead, in "the odd and wonderful." As mentioned above (page 49), Matthew Paris incorporated, for example, a series of sibylline prophecies early in the *Chronica*, including an account of Antichrist similar to that included with Bede's works. He also recorded prophecies of Antichrist's ap-

pearance that certainly fill the criterion of "the odd and wonderful."[17] Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (ca. 1170) and Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* (ca. 1360) also include, when relevant, discussions of Antichrist.[18] Comestor's *Historia* is actually a work of biblical exegesis that emphasizes the historical interpretation of scripture. Referring to the *Tiburtine Oracle,* it discusses Antichrist in its account of Daniel. Higden's *Polychronicon,* which borrowed from the *Historia,* similarly includes Antichrist in its explanation of Daniel's visions. It also refers to Antichrist in detailing Alexander's enclosing of Gog and Magog. To these historians and to their readers, many of whom believed that they were living near the end of time, Antichrist is a key figure of world history.

Matthew Paris, Peter Comestor, and Ranulf Higden refer to Antichrist when recording prophecies or explaining the historical past. Yet historians also place Antichrist in his eschatological context by detailing his career in the future, when he is to bring the sixth age to a close. Since orthodox Christians realized that no human could determine the time of Christ's Second Advent, historians usually did not attempt to set dates for the appearance of Antichrist and for Doomsday. They were, however, extremely interested in the order and character of last-day events. In the *Etymologiae,* Isidore concludes, after bringing the chronology of the six ages up to his own time, that "the remainder of the sixth age is known only to God."[19] Most Christians would agree. Not all historians, however, were satisfied to end their record of historical events with the present. Bede, for example, in his *De temporum ratione,* orders last-day events into a pattern that later historians followed. After summarizing events from the first age to the present, Bede turns away from specifics to theorize concerning the "remainder of the sixth age" and the time of Christ's Second Coming. He becomes specific again, however, when he details the time of Antichrist, his three-and-one-half-year reign, persecution, and death, and the forty-five days of peace following his death.[20] Although unwilling to date Antichrist's appearance, Bede as a biblical exegete is certain that Antichrist will reign before Doomsday and equally sure what that reign will

mean to Christians. As a historian, furthermore, Bede can place Antichrist at the close of his chronicle. Antichrist's appearance is the one event that the historian is certain will precede the Second Advent and Judgment Day.

Historians in the later Middle Ages further elaborated Bede's example of following an account of the historical past with a discussion of the coming of Antichrist and Doomsday. They found the Antichrist tradition helpful in providing an accurate, detailed, and orthodox account of last-day events and the end of the world. Furthermore, it was not difficult for writers who saw history as a working out of God's purposes for mankind to discover a continuity between past events and Antichrist's career. For example, in the first seven books of his *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus* (1146), Otto of Freising describes world history from Adam to the Crusades, and in the eighth book, explains the deeds of Antichrist and the events preceding the Last Judgment.[21] The account of Antichrist serves as an appropriate conclusion to the *Chronica,* for from the very beginning of the work, Otto contrasts God's people with God's enemies. In book one, for instance, he discusses not only Adam, the Flood, and Abraham, but also early Greek and Babylonian history. While detailing church and secular history, he contrasts the heavenly city (the church) with the earthly city, which is made up not only of political enemies but also of enemies typologically representing Antichrist—heretics, pagans, and false Christians. To Otto, Antichrist's great persecution continues the earlier persecutions of the church, and Enoch and Elias, because of their faithful opposition to Antichrist, stand in the long line of citizens of God's eternal city.

The *Speculum historiale* (ca. 1250), part of the great encyclopedia of Vincent of Beauvais, similarly places Antichrist in the center of last-day events. It also follows an account of the Christian Crusades against the Saracens with an eschatological conclusion. Book 32, chapter 106 of the *Speculum* begins with "De signis future consumationis," a discussion of the great iniquity of the times, Satan's increasing strength, the breakdown of Roman power, and the prediction of "methodius martir" concerning the

sons of Ishmael and the Last World Emperor. This chapter thus provides an effective transition between the account of contemporary events and the future, especially since the Saracens of the crusades can be identified easily with the "sons of Ishmael." Chapter 107 summarizes the prophecies of the Pseudo-Joachim *In expositione Hieremie,* and those of Saint Hildegarde, two major sources of late medieval apocalyptic thought.[22] The *Speculum* then concentrates on the career of Antichrist, the major actor in last-day events. Chapters 108 and 109 detail his life from birth to death. The highly influential *Speculum* here follows the conservative exegetical explanations of the tradition, even though Vincent of Beauvais was quite aware of Joachimist expectations. This conservative bent is evident particularly in chapter 110, which describes the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday after explaining that forty-five days of repentance will follow Antichrist's death. Clearly, not a millennial kingdom but Judgment Day is expected to follow Antichrist.

To this point, this chapter has been emphasizing how the medieval historians' treatment of Antichrist testifies to his crucial role in history. As one continuation of the *Polychronicon* notes, history is conceived as extending "ab Adam usque ad Antichristum."[23] Yet the use made of the Antichrist tradition in such works as the *Chronica* and the *Speculum historiale* suggests that writers included the tradition not only for its historical importance but also because it enabled the historian to continue tracing the providence of God at work up to the Last Judgment. A view of history as unified and purposeful, which the medieval universal chronicles assume, requires that time have not only a beginning and a middle, but also an end. The problem for the historian, of course, is how to shift from recording the past and even the present to delineating the future. One solution is to leave a few blank pages between the account of the present and that of the Last Judgment, as does the late fifteenth-century "Nuremberg Chronicle."[24] Then future historians can continue the chronicle as events unfold. Another solution is to switch from detailing specific events of history to describing prophecies or discussing expectations of the end. This is Bede's solution in

his *De temporum ratione,* and it is a solution followed by Otto of Freising and Vincent of Beauvais. Among these expectations of the end, the coming of Antichrist is central, significant, and certain. For the historian, then, the Antichrist tradition becomes an abundant source of details concerning the last days. Furthermore, because of the nature of the tradition, a discussion of Antichrist provides the needed transition from the present to the future and thus gives history some coherence. Since the general signs of Antichrist—such as the great increase of evil in the world—can almost always be applied to contemporary events, the transition from the historian's own time to the signs of Antichrist is not difficult. Antichrist's appearance, persecution, and death can then be described, followed by the Fifteen Signs, the Last Judgment, and the rewards of the righteous and the damned. History can thus be brought to a close without a major break in continuity between past, present, and future.[25]

The Antichrist tradition is similarly important to the scheme of Christian history outlined in the *Cursor Mundi,* a Middle English verse chronicle of the early fourteenth century. The organization of this chronicle follows the theory of the six ages of the world. It differs from the Latin prose histories discussed above, though, because its emphasis on salvation history limits its scope almost exclusively to biblical narration. The first 21,000 lines describe the events of the first six ages from Creation through the New Testament. The discussion of the seventh age, which in the poem apparently represents the last days, opens with the signs of the end of time, a complaint on man's great sinfulness, a warning of death, and the account of Antichrist's life.[26] As in the Latin chronicles, the treatment of Antichrist, a 450-line translation of Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo* with a few additions, serves to divide the events of the past from the events of the future. The poem's concern with orthodox teaching and explanations of Christian doctrine is particularly evident in the small details that the *Cursor Mundi* adds to Adso's account of Antichrist. It includes Adso's comment that Antichrist would be born of a union of father and mother and not of a virgin alone, for example, but then adds, apparently to contradict popular and unorthodox ex-

pectations, that Antichrist's parents would not be a bishop and a nun (line 22,028). It also explains that the time of trouble will be brought on by Antichrist and the Saracens (line 22,225) and that Gog and Magog are the Saracens (line 22,347), interpretations that both increase the apocalyptic urgency of the times and rationalize uncertain eschatological events in terms of contemporary history. The purpose of the *Cursor Mundi,* though, is not to describe the particulars of history and certainly not to portray secular history. Its purpose is clearly didactic, to teach the fundamentals of Christian doctrine. In its prologue, the poem states that it intends to provide stories to replace the foolish romances that all wish to hear. The Antichrist legend serves as a suitable replacement for these romances. It includes many of the same elements that made secular romances popular. Marvellous events, battles against terrible peoples, and the grandeur of a powerful leader add much interest to the legend. Nevertheless, it has an important place in Christian orthodox eschatology and thus deserves the attention of the *Cursor.* Furthermore, Antichrist's position at the end of the poem's outline of the ages illustrates the significance of the times and emphasizes that each Christian must "be war and wyse."

Similarly didactic and encyclopedic, the *Bible des sept états du monde* of Geufroi de Paris and the Middle English *Pricke of Conscience* are also based on a seven-part structure.[27] Like the *Cursor Mundi,* the *Bible* deals with the Old and New Testament, although only in its first two books. They represent the first two "states" of the world. Along with the other five—hell, purgatory, the human condition, Antichrist, and the end of the world (in that order)—they describe man's past, present, and future. The seven parts of the immensely popular *Pricke of Conscience*—its 10,000 lines are extant in over a hundred manuscripts—include the beginning of man's life, the unstableness of this world, death, purgatory, the day of doom, the pains of hell, and the joys of heaven. Part five, on the day of doom, deals with the general tokens of the end, the life of Antichrist (to last thirty-two and one-half years), the Fifteen Signs, the resurrection of the dead, and the Last Judgment. The *Pricke of Conscience* details the

legend of Antichrist developed in Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo,* in the *Pseudo-Methodius,* and in patristic exegesis. It includes the legend of the Last World Emperor, the release of Gog and Magog, the ministry of Enoch and Elias, and the conversion of all to Christianity during the forty-five days following Antichrist's death. Like the *Cursor Mundi* and the *Bible des sept états,* it explains Antichrist as a standard and significant belief of Christian doctrine.

All of these late medieval encyclopedic works place Antichrist in his eschatological context. His key role in Christian eschatology is especially evident, furthermore, in some earlier didactic poems whose purpose is limited almost exclusively to teaching the last things. This study has already referred to these poems in order to determine the medieval understanding of Antichrist. They include the ninth-century "Quique cupitis audire," which establishes a typical sequence of last-day events by first discussing Antichrist's birth, deception, and final destruction and then portraying the Last Judgment, the glories of the New Jerusalem, and the torments of hell.[28] Ten of the poem's eighteen stanzas describe Antichrist's life. Similarly, the Latin "De Enoch and Haeliae" also follows this eschatological pattern by describing the Last Judgment and the rewards of the righteous and the wicked after detailing Antichrist's career.[29] It is a haunting poem of thirty-five stanzas, each with a one-line refrain that varies with the course of the poem from "Inminente die iudicii," to "In pavendo die iudicii," and finally to "In perennis die sabbati." Later vernacular poems explaining last-day events often add the Fifteen Signs to this pattern. For example, the Middle High German *Entecrist* begins with a discussion of the end of the world, describes the origins and rule of Antichrist, and then continues with the Fifteen Signs and Doomsday.[30] The anonymous Old French poem copied in Verona (ca. 1251) and edited by E. Walberg similarly exemplifies Antichrist's important role in later poetic treatments of eschatology.[31] It begins with a life of Antichrist (lines 1–241), then describes the Fifteen Signs (lines 242–806) and a body and soul debate (lines 807–80), and ends with the Last Judgment (lines 881–1,214).

Berengier's *De l'avenement Antecrist* also includes the Fifteen Signs, the judgment, and the traditional description of the joys of heaven and the pains of hell.[32] Furthermore, it shows how a poet could develop specifics of the tradition while popularizing it to suit contemporary literary tastes. Written in the style of a *chanson de geste* in forty-three monorhymed laisses of varying numbers of twelve-syllable lines, Berengier's poem emphasizes the heroic qualities of the controversy between good and evil. It begins by describing the expulsion of Beelzebub from heaven and the beginning of the world. Antichrist appears to be the incarnation of Satan, who remains in hell until thirty-seven years before the end of the world. Antichrist is then born in Babylon from an incestuous relationship between a father and daughter (Satan and his daughter, a great whore). When Enoch and Elias preach against him and convert his followers to the true Christ, Antichrist, now abandoned, seeks vengeance by releasing the nations of Gog and Magog and leading their armies to war against God's people. He surrounds Jerusalem, kills the prophets, and claims a great victory. But the victory is false, for God, seeking vengeance for the martyrs, kills him with lightning on the Mount of Olives.

Such an account of Antichrist embellishes the tradition not only to teach but also to entertain the poet's audience. The medieval plays that dramatize the numerous features of the Antichrist tradition also assume that the best way to instruct is to simultaneously entertain an audience. The following section shows how three unique medieval plays develop the Antichrist tradition, each for its own dramatic and didactic purposes.

Antichrist in Medieval Drama

It is not surprising to find the popular legend of Antichrist as the subject of medieval religious drama. As with dramatic portrayals of the Passion, the Harrowing of Hell, or the Slaughter of the Innocents, its subject matter contains the seeds of its dramatic success. The tradition illustrates the conflict between good and evil, a popular theme of medieval drama. It is portrayed

dramatically through debate, war, and martyrdom; it involves the pomp and spectacle of emperors, popes, kings, bishops, biblical prophets, and the Jews; it is reflected in Antichrist's bombast, pride, blasphemy, his rivalry for power, and the wonder of his miracles. Antichrist drama is not uniform in its presentation of subject, a fact that argues against a liturgical origin for these plays.[33] Yet it usually closely follows the basic features of the tradition, the structure of Antichrist's career, and the details of his reign of tyranny and deceit. It almost always presents Antichrist's miracles (especially his raising the dead), his blasphemous claims in an introductory proclamation, the preaching of Enoch and Elias, and the crucial role of the Jews as his supporters and as converts of the two prophets. Furthermore, the plays often emphasize Antichrist's role in Christian eschatology by presenting his reign as immediately preceding the Last Judgment.

This eschatological context is evident, for example, in the Italian Doomsday play from Perugia (ca. 1320–40).[34] The play develops the Antichrist tradition in a ninety-six-line introduction to its staging of the Last Judgment. It begins with two kings discussing the signs in the heavens and the future appearance of Antichrist, who immediately comes on stage converting the populace of Jerusalem. Antichrist marks his followers, threatens those who oppose him, and dazzles others with wonders—he makes fire fall from heaven and a dry tree flower, and, as testimony that he is God, he raises the dead. Events move quickly, however, and Enoch and Elias appear warning of Doomsday. They are killed, of course, by Antichrist, but his career is quickly brought to a close. Christ sends Gabriel to kill the deceiver, who is carried off to hell by demons, while those earlier deceived repent. Two angels then announce that Doomsday is at hand, Christ appears, and the judgment of the just and the damned begins (lines 97–432). Antichrist is thus clearly portrayed as the final leader of iniquity in the last days, one who may be defeated only by Christ's divine agent. Furthermore, although the introductory section is short, the Perugia Doomsday alludes to many details of the tradition and follows a pattern of staging Anti-

christ that is typical of Antichrist drama: first a warning of Antichrist's appearance; next his blasphemous claims, miracles, and threats; then the preaching of the two prophets; and finally, after their death, Antichrist's own destruction.

This pattern is also evident, although much more fully developed, in the German Corpus Christi cycle from Künzelsau (ca. 1479).[35] Before Antichrist's arrival on stage, the cycle presents the parable of the five wise and five foolish virgins (lines 4,670–5,074). The parable has strong eschatological associations; it is told by Christ, after his description of the pseudo-Christs, as a warning that all should be prepared for the last days and the Second Coming (Matt. 25:1–13). Künzelsau then dramatizes the Antichrist tradition. A Rector Ludi announces Antichrist while relating many details of his devilish origins and deceits. Antichrist's close relationship with devils is again noted when a devil later tells Lucifer that "our comrade" is born. The play also particularly emphasizes Antichrist's Jewish support. The Jews become his most faithful followers when Archsinagoga identifies him as the Messiah and requests that he take revenge against the Christians. Antichrist's career is finally brought to a close with the appearance of Enoch and Elias. The prophets are killed and then resurrected by Gabriel, Antichrist is taken to hell by some devils, and the Last Judgment is announced. The Künzelsau Antichrist is a good example of how popular literature treats the tradition in the later Middle Ages. It stages many features of the tradition and alludes to many others. But it particularly plays up Antichrist's devilish connections and his close association with the Jews, two popular beliefs often illustrated in medieval art. Also, like the fifteenth-century block book *vitae* of Antichrist, the Künzelsau cycle makes especially clear that Antichrist's ultimate destiny is hell.

Several other medieval and Renaissance plays dramatize the Antichrist tradition, but this study will concentrate on three—one in Latin, one in Old French, and one in Middle English—in order to investigate how medieval playwrights dramatized Antichrist by selecting from and manipulating popular tradition.[36] Although these plays cannot be fully representative of all Anti-

christ drama, they share some common features and at the same time illustrate three distinct handlings of the tradition. Taken together, they exmplify its international popularity, its suitability to both learned and lay audiences, and its use alone as well as in conjunction with other themes to achieve a dramatic impression while setting forth an important segment of Christian eschatology.

Available in a unique twelfth-century manuscript of Tegernsee, Bavaria, the *Ludus de Antichristo* is considered the best dramatization of the Antichrist legend and "the best literary product of German ecclesiastical life in the twelfth century."[37] It is usually dated to the early years of Frederick Barbarossa's reign (1155–60), although some critics have noted possible references to later events in Frederick's reign. Gerhoh von Reichersberg's reference to the "playing" of Antichrist in his *De investigatione Antichristi* (1161–62) may also refer to the play and thus help establish its date.[38] It borrows from Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo,* the *Pseudo-Methodius,* the Vulgate, and the liturgy. It is essentially an eschatological play, even though critics who have been fascinated by the political and imperial scenes of its first half, have mistakenly called it "the first political drama of the Middle Ages."[39] The theme of the Last World Emperor, which the play's first section develops, has political relevance, of course, for the Emperor's claims are remarkably similar to imperial political philosophy in the twelfth century. It is also true that the play exhibits a strongly nationalistic bias in favor of Germany and especially antagonistic to France. But critics who have interpreted the *Ludus de Antichristo* solely as a glorification of Frederick and as an early example of German nationalism have obscured its more important religious significance. They have not only identified the Emperor with Frederick, but have also attempted to identify the other kings, the pope, Babylon, the hypocrites, and the heretics with contemporary figures. This overemphasis on contemporary political speculation has deterred dramatic and literary discussions of the play and has led to such influential yet misleading conclusions as E. K. Chambers' view that the play "is, in fact, a *Tendenzschrift,* a pamphlet."[40]

Although the *Ludus de Antichristo* can be interpreted in terms of contemporary history, the Last World Emperor, as the *Pseudo-Methodius* and the *Tiburtine Oracle* make clear, is an eschatological figure. The play does not, therefore, shift from a historical to an eschatological theme when the Emperor gives up his crown in Jersulem. He is not first Frederick and then the Last World Emperor. Though all of his actions are portrayed, as should be expected, from a twelfth-century viewpoint, they are best interpreted in terms of the Antichrist tradition. Even characters who at first appear to be reflections of contemporaries have eschatological significance. The Christian king of Jerusalem, for example, may represent the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem established during the crusades, yet he also symbolizes the Jerusalem of the Antichrist tradition, the city where Adso states Antichrist will gain power. Babylon obviously represents the Saracens, yet it is also popularly known as the birthplace of Antichrist; and when its king leads the heathen to attack Jerusalem, it also represents the hordes of Gog and Magog encircling the Jerusalem of the remnant (Apoc. 20:8–9). From its very beginning, furthermore, the *Ludus de Antichristo* develops religious themes. Its structure closely follows the order of the tradition, and in many details it is dependent upon an understanding of the medieval Antichrist. For example, the play begins with the songs of the three religions, as each religion comes on stage detailing a doctrine suitable to its belief (pages 371–73). Gentilitas defends polytheism, Synagoga praises God and attacks the belief in Christ, and Ecclesia claims to represent faith and life. Thus, even before the Emperor speaks, his words are placed in a religious context. Furthermore, although the three religions certainly may refer to contemporary situations—with the Saracens understood as pagan—the order of their appearance on stage also alludes to the three periods of salvation history: natural law, the Mosaic written law, and the "new law" of grace. This quick summary of religious history helps place the Emperor's actions within a religious and even an eschatological context.

Although the Emperor's claims of sovereignty over the world and his military victories over his enemies reflect twelfth-century

imperial propaganda, the Emperor's religious motivations, restoration of the Christian empire, and ultimate establishment of concord out of discord show that in the play he represents the Last World Emperor. As detailed in the *Pseudo-Methodius,* the Emperor is the champion of Christianity. He comes to the defense of Jerusalem, soundly defeats Babylon, and, when all the world is under his control, enters the temple to worship and give up his crown and scepter (page 377):

> Suscipe quod offero, nam corde benigno
> Tibi Regi regnum imperium resigno,
> Per quem reges regnant, qui solus Imperator
> Dici potes et es cunctorum gubernator.

The whole scene is magnificently conceived. Although traditionally the Emperor ends his reign on the Mount of Olives, for dramatic economy he here does so in the temple, which is now occupied by Ecclesia. He then becomes, for the remainder of the play, the king of Germany rather than the Emperor. The play provides no psychological or dramatic explanation for the enigmatic action of the Emperor—his action can be understood only as part of the Antichrist tradition. The dramatization of a secular emperor who gives up power after waging two wars to conquer the world makes little political sense. But here the eschatological motivations are stronger than the political—the *discessio* of the empire is the most important sign of the coming of Antichrist (see chapter 3, page 88). The Last World Emperor must fulfill his prophetic role by first conquering the world and then abdicating power.

As set forth in the tradition, the play immediately depicts Antichrist's appearance in Jerusalem. He is preceded by the Hypocrites, the traditional limbs of Antichrist, who in an elaborate dumb show gather before Ecclesia and win the confidence of the king of Jerusalem (page 377). Antichrist then begins his ministry with an introductory proclamation in which he sets forth his plans for religious and political supremacy and asks Hypocrisy and Heresy to destroy the memory of Christ on earth. The at-

tack, therefore, will be against Christ; the aim, the denial of Christ's name. Hypocrisy will deceive the laity, Heresy the clergy. An example of his deception then follows. The Hypocrites rush to Antichrist asking him to reform the church, and following the tradition that he will at first appear humble and righteous, he pretends to shy away: "Quomodo fiet hoc? ego sum vir ignotus."[41] Yet, with the help of the Hypocrites, he overcomes the king of Jerusalem and lays down the robes that have covered his military breastplate (page 377), a gesture symbolic of his shift from an originally humble reformer to a proud ruler. He now attacks Ecclesia and forces her to flee from the temple. With the establishment of his throne in the temple (the traditional "abomination of desolation"), Antichrist initiates his religious blasphemies.

The *Ludus de Antichristo* especially depicts Antichrist's methods of consolidating his power. Adso states that Antichrist will gain power through terror, gifts, and miracles. In the play Antichrist uses the sword to drive out the king of Jerusalem and intimidates the king of Greece with threats (page 379). The king of France is easily bribed by gifts (page 380) and rewarded with a kiss. The German king withstands the bribe with an appropriate biblical allusion (Acts 8:20) to Peter's curse of Simon Magus, a type of Antichrist (page 381):

Secum pecunia sit in perditionem
Graven iniuria expectat ultionem.

After unsuccessfully leading an army against the German king, Antichrist finally shakes his faith by healing a lame man and a leper. The king is convinced when Antichrist pretends to raise a dead man, Antichrist's greatest miracle. Although the performance of the play does not show that these miracles are false, the rubric (page 382) makes it clear that the man only pretends to be dead, a notion important to exegetical interpretations of Antichrist's miracles. It is the deception that counts, and with the conversion of the king of Germany, the last bulwark of Christianity submits to the false Christ. Antichrist now directs the king

to convert Babylon and Gentilitas, who easily succumb (page 383).

Antichrist's mastery of the political powers reflects other common features of the tradition as well. For example, after conversion, each king pays him homage and receives his mark (the letter "A") on the forehead. These scenes again show that the play is concerned more with accurately dramatizing specific expectations of the tradition—here the mark of Antichrist—than with portraying realistic political situations. The play also underscores Antichrist's blasphemy and hypocrisy, for even while threatening war or proffering gifts, he and his messengers pretend to follow religious motivations. Even his attack on Babylon and Gentilitas is conducted in the name of religion, for his ambassador condemns the heathen idolatry and destroys an idol. At this point in the play, it is not certain whether Antichrist is to be commended or condemned.

Synagoga, the last character that Antichrist converts, accepts Antichrist when the Hypocrites proclaim that Antichrist is the prophetic Messiah, the king of the Jews, Emmanuel (page 384). The closing stages of the Antichrist tradition now follow as the play's tempo quickens. After Synagoga's conversion, Enoch and Elias enter, denounce Antichrist ("Non est Christus," page 385), and convert the Jews to Christianity. Their second conversion is symbolized by the removal of a blindfold from the eyes of Synagoga.[42] The play thereby follows the tradition by showing the Jews first converted to Antichrist and then to the true Christ, but it telescopes the two separate events into one brief and highly symbolic scene. In confessing the new faith, Synagoga for the first time in the play identifies the false Christ as "Antichrist." The deceiver's true character is now revealed as he threatens the prophets and the Jews. But they stand firm and, while Ecclesia sings "Fasciculus mirre dilectus meus mihi" (Cant. 1:12), they are killed. Their martyrdom, accompanied by Ecclesia's song, represents Antichrist's final great persecution of the faithful.

Antichrist then calls together his converts. Now, at the point of his greatest pride, his reign is suddenly brought to an end by a

great noise from above (page 387). He is not killed, though. He and his supporters flee, while the deceived Christians rejoin Ecclesia. As the play ends, the Christians gather to praise God. This enigmatic scene may reflect the traditional expectation that a brief period of peace will follow Antichrist's downfall, during which time those misled by Antichrist may repent and rejoin the church. However, usually the forty or forty-five days of repentance follow Antichrist's death, and as far as the action of the play is concerned, Antichrist is still alive. The play does not show Christ or Michael killing Antichrist, nor does it follow Antichrist's career with a Last Judgment scene. Instead, Ecclesia merely gathers the faithful. In its conclusion, therefore, the *Ludus de Antichristo* departs from the tradition. Perhaps its playwright expected his learned audience to imagine what was to follow. In any case, the play does not moralize; it does not present an expositor to warn its audience or a devil to emphasize Antichrist's ultimate reward. Instead, its action suggests that the conflict is not over and that Christians should be ready for Antichrist.

Perhaps one reason the play does not bring on the supernatural characters of Christ or Michael to kill Antichrist is that it dramatizes the conflict between good and evil in strictly human terms. For example, it does not depict the resurrection of Enoch and Elias, although the loud noise that frightens Antichrist may refer to the earthquake accompanying that resurrection, a sign that Antichrist will soon be destroyed. Other than the brief appearance of an angel who promises to help Jerusalem when it is attacked by Babylon, the *Ludus de Antichristo* lacks any supernatural characters. Even though the main actors are emblematic of whole nations and peoples and of universal beliefs, the play's action emphasizes their human strengths and weaknesses. They must stand on their own in choosing between good and evil. They are not surrounded by devils and angels prodding them in various directions, nor are they allowed to see the cosmic implications of their actions. Furthermore, the play does not condemn them when they choose incorrectly. The German king's

decision to follow Antichrist, for example, is made only when he sincerely believes that he has been resisting God. The portrayal of Antichrist similarly reflects the play's de-emphasis of the supernatural. He is stronger than his opponents and a master deceiver, and he cannot be defeated by any human opponent but flees only after hearing the great noise overhead. His supporters, however, are the human heretics and hypocrites rather than the devils often portrayed in later Antichrist drama. In the play Antichrist is essentially another royal figure to be compared to the various kings. Of course, he is evil, but his true character is only gradually revealed in the action of the play. Unlike the later vernacular plays, *Ludus de Antichristo* makes no reference to his supernatural birth nor does it discuss his parentage. Instead, the play focuses on the implied contrast between the characters of Antichrist and Christ. The false Christ's claims to political power, for instance, are in distinct contrast to the true Christ's comment, "My kingdom is not of this world" (John 18:36). Antichrist's tyranny and hypocrisy require the audience to analyze his actions and to decide to stand firmly against him, even while recognizing the failure of the play's characters to do so.

In contrast, the second play—the Old French *Jour de Jugement*—emphasizes Antichrist's evil from its very beginning.[43] It leaves nothing to the imagination of its lay audience. Available in a fully illustrated manuscript of the Bibliotheque municipale de Besançon (MS 579), the *Jour de Jugement* is the only extant medieval French Antichrist play. Like the Perugia and Künzelsau plays, it combines the Antichrist and Doomsday themes. Like the *Ludus de Antichristo,* it has been analyzed for its political content, although it is even less concerned with contemporary politics. Now generally dated ca. 1330, its author is unknown. Its specific sources are difficult to ascertain, although it obviously draws heavily from the handling of the tradition in Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo* or in *vitae* influenced by Adso.

The *Jour de Jugement* illustrates Mary Marshall's perceptive statement that "medieval religious drama became explicitly didactic as it became secular."[44] It greatly expands the dramatic presentation of the Antichrist tradition not only to entertain but

also to teach an important part of Christian doctrine. Its additional pageantry, its numerous characters (ninety-four in all), its much greater length (1,691 lines on Antichrist compared to the 417-line total of the *Ludus*), the importance of the devils, and the dramatic conclusion of the Antichrist scenes exemplify the play's embellishment and imaginative treatment of the tradition. On the other hand, its didacticism is obvious from its very opening, when a preacher presents "un sarmon" (line 9) warning of the end of time and of the certainty of judgment. He describes Doomsday in detail (lines 77–146) and concludes with a prayer that all be prepared to withstand Antichrist or "any other devil" in order to face the day of judgment without sin (lines 184–92). The didactic intent thus greatly affects the play's handling of the tradition. It is evident in the faithfulness of the pope and the two thousand Christians who stand against Antichrist as steadfast examples for the audience, in the certainty of death for Antichrist and his supporters, and in the final scenes of the Last Judgment. The play continually places the audience in a position to judge the action and characters and makes it obvious what the verdict should be.

Its action proper begins with the council of devils and the birth of Antichrist. Satan's opening speech immediately signals the play's interest in supernatural characters and introduces the cosmic significance of the conflict between good and evil that the play will emphasize throughout. The speech alludes to the end of time and surveys the action to follow (lines 193–223). A devil is to father a child in Babylon; the mother will be a whore, a Jew from the tribe of Dan. The child will be called Antichrist, who through gifts, false doctrine, and miracles will gain the love of the people. The devils agree to send Angingnart to Babylon on a mission to destroy the human race (lines 250–53). Accompanied by Agrappars, another devil, he travels to Babylon, takes the form of a youth, seduces the mother, explains that she will bear a wondrous son who will destroy Christianity, and identifies himself as a devil (lines 302–41). After retaking his original form, he returns to hell, where he is greeted by a dance of joy. Later, after Antichrist's birth, Satan sends two devils to educate

the child (lines 430–55). These opening scenes explicitly refer to the tradition. The speeches of the devils and the careful questioning of the mother particularly emphasize that the action takes place in Babylon and that the mother is a Jew of the tribe of Dan (lines 291–301). The traditional theological subtlety explaining that Antichrist is born of human parents but possessed by the devil who enters his mother's womb is avoided. In the *Jour de Jugement,* as in much popular literature, Antichrist's father is a devil.[45] The audience must understand Antichrist's evil nature from the very beginning.

After Antichrist's birth, a chorus of angels calls Enoch and Elias to preach the law of God on earth. They appear, explain the purpose of their coming, and prophesy their three-and-one-half-year ministry and eventual martyrdom. They then preach against Antichrist, referring to Christ's prophecy of false prophets to come in the last days (Matt. 24:24) and warning of Antichrist's power and the miracles he will work through God's permission because of mankind's sins (lines 478–537). Their introductory sermons reflect the medieval desire to explain Antichrist's power. They refer to many traditional details and continually admonish the play's characters to repent and prepare for Antichrist. The scene then shifts to the devils again. Satan encourages a now mature Antichrist to destroy the church and promises help if he claims to be the Son of God (lines 538–69). Antichrist here appears almost as an innocent indoctrinated by the devil. He is a man caught in a cosmic struggle that he does not understand.

However, Antichrist immediately begins his reign with the traditional bombastic proclamation in which he blasphemously states that he comes to earth from heaven and that he is God (lines 586–600). He later claims political as well as religious dominion (lines 654–62), and at the advice of Annes, a Jew, decides to mint a coin portraying his image (lines 630–53). This unusual scene reflects both "the image of the beast" and the "mark of the beast" expected in the Antichrist tradition, for the speeches of Antichrist's devilish messenger, Pluto, make it clear that all peo-

ples will need to display the coin or they will suffer persecution and death (lines 662–95). Apparently, the playwright wished to dramatize this theological concept in a fashion more realistic than the marking of the foreheads ("A") depicted in the *Ludus de Antichristo* and throughout the manuscript illustrations of Antichrist. It is as if the playwright were trying to imagine how Antichrist might really mark his followers should he appear in fourteenth-century France. The careful construction of the scenes (Annes's suggestion–Antichrist's decision–Pluto's proclamation), their length, and their prominence as the first example of Antichrist's tyranny exemplify the play's complex handling of individual features of the Antichrist tradition.

This intricate dramatization of the tradition is illustrated further by Antichrist's methods of converting the Christians. He imitates Christ by utilizing miraculous cures as proof of his divinity, healing first a blind man (lines 606–29) and then a leper (lines 696–743). These miracles are not performed together as they are in the *Ludus de Antichristo,* but are separated and dramatically expanded, directed to different audiences, and used as building blocks of deceit to win over first the Jews and then ten thousand people (lines 824–27). After being challenged by an evil bishop, Antichrist performs his greatest miracle, the raising of a man dead for ten years. But these miracles are not sufficient to convince ten kings who now enter to discuss the wondrous events and to interview Antichrist (lines 828–955). Although they may represent the ten kings who traditionally precede Antichrist's rise to power (Dan. 7:24), here they generally play the role of the rulers deceived by Antichrist who then provide him with political support. They are convinced only when Antichrist gives alms to four paupers, a display of Christian charity in which the pseudo-Christ again hypocritically imitates Christ's ministry. Thus, the actions of the kings are not totally blameworthy, as would be the case if they had accepted a bribe. Later, they will repent and will not be lost when Antichrist's followers are destroyed (lines 1,676–91).

Antichrist also gains power through threats (Pluto's proclama-

tion concerning the coin) and through false teachings. His persuasive false doctrines accompany his specific examples of deceit. His speeches before the sick, the poor, the bishop, and the kings, for example, involve a two-pronged attack on Jesus Christ. First, he takes for himself the roles of Christ by promising his followers salvation, by calling himself God and the Son of God, and by claiming to be the Creator, Judge, and Redeemer. Second, he combines this usurpation with an attack on the divinity of "Jhesucriz," a reference to 1 John 2:22, a key verse of the medieval tradition that identifies as Antichrist those who deny Christ. This particular attack centers on the incarnation of Christ and stresses that Christ is merely the son of Mary rather than the Son of God. Antichrist repeatedly refers to Christ as "Jhesu, le fil Marie." He reacts angrily, moreover, when one of the ten kings greets him in the name of Jesus Christ, Son of God the Father, and born of the Virgin (lines 896–99):

> Mais Jeshucriz si est li pires
> Homs qui onques nasquit de femme,
> Et si tien a trop grant diffame
> Quant de luy m'avez [salue].

Antichrist successfully brands Jesus as an impostor ("le pautonnier," line 903) born of human parents by attacking the virgin birth and contrasting Jesus as man with his own claims to be divinely sent from God. Thus, when converted, the bishop and the kings ultimately deny Jesus (lines 1,040–41):

> Jeshus renoions et sa mére
> Et vous faisons trestuit hommaige.

Enoch and Elias, offstage since their original entrance, appear once again. Traditionally, the Jews are the first to be converted by the prophets, but the *Jour du Jugement,* which consistently condemns the Jews, has them resist Enoch and Elias, label the two as false prophets, traitors, and hypocrites, and complain to Antichrist (lines 1,044–95). The prophets' defense again develops many features of the tradition, for they explain that they

have awaited Antichrist in the Earthly Paradise, that they oppose Antichrist's false doctrines and his miracles, which are accomplished by devils, and that they will be martyred and finally resurrected. Antichrist turns them over to the Jews, who kill them (lines 1,176–205). An earthquake follows, and Antichrist becomes less the deceiver and more the tyrant. He begins to rage, claims credit for the earthquake, calls the Jews fools, and demands to see the pope. Four knights arrest the pope and two cardinals. Although the three churchmen are subjected to similar abuse, the pope remains steadfast and is imprisoned, while the cardinals renounce God and Holy Church in favor of Antichrist's "loy nouvelle" (lines 1,382–85) and are rewarded with lands. The scene further reflects traditional details of events following the martyrdom of Enoch and Elias. For example, Adso states that under persecution some Christians are faithful and others apostatize.[46] Also, the pope epitomizes Antichrist as "Egipcien" (line 1,302), which may refer to the expectation that the bodies of the two witnesses will lie in the streets of the city "which is called spiritually Sodom and Egypt" (Apoc. 11:8).

A chorus of angels next calls Enoch and Elias from the grave to the praise of two thousand reconverted Christians. Hearing the news, Antichrist rages, denying their resurrection. John the Evangelist now appears to call the angels of wrath, who afflict Antichrist and his followers the Jews and send them to hell. The scene is lengthy (lines 1,472–691) and very dramatic, a chaotic contrast to the enigmatic conclusion of the *Ludus de Antichristo*. It portrays the destruction of evil as the six angels take turns delivering condemnations while inflicting punishment. The scene is an effective transition between the play's two themes—Antichrist and the Last Judgment. Although it does not show Michael or Christ killing Antichrist, it does make it clear that Antichrist is destroyed. It also develops several particulars of the tradition. For example, Antichrist's deceit is made evident to all, as one by one his miracles are proven to be false. The healed blind man and leper regain their former afflictions, and the devil Baucibuz speaks in the corpse of the man Antichrist supposedly raised from the dead. Although the play does not specif-

ically refer to a time of repentance, it does show the blind man, leper, and kings (now praying to the Virgin they had previously renounced) repent and turn toward Christ. The devils again meet in council to prepare war against God, and Baucibuz suggests they call on the forces of the twenty-five nations "De jayans et de Jupians" (lines 1,660–65), an apparently confused allusion to the nations of Gog and Magog.[47] The Antichrist portion of the play then concludes as God sets the scene for the Last Judgment, which follows (lines 1,692–2,438).

Since the play's presentation of Antichrist's mother is not found elsewhere in medieval Antichrist drama, her role in the *Jour du Jugement* is worth analyzing in more detail.[48] Her significance to the play is dependent upon the playwright's extension of a basic feature of the tradition—Antichrist's explicit parody of Christ. Probably the importance of the Marian tradition in France during the High Middle Ages accounts for the play's emphasis on Antichrist's attack against the virgin birth and suggested a developed portrayal of Antichrist's mother. She is the antivirgin preferred by the Jews who follow Antichrist and continually attack Mary and Christ's virgin birth. Her most obvious purpose in the play is to fulfill the traditional prophecies concerning Antichrist's birth from a Jew, of the tribe of Dan, living in Babylon. Symbolically, though, she is also the "whore of Babylon," totally evil, placing her faith in Mohammed (lines 418–21):

> Je met m'esperance toute
> En Mahon et en sa puissance.
> Fol sont trestuit cil sans doubtance
> Qui ne croient ces vertus belles!

Her wickedness makes her a suitable mate for Angingnart and mother for Antichrist. She also serves to implicate the Jews in Antichrist's birth and to sound the play's first note of anti-Jewish sentiment. She continually describes her hatred of Christians. But presumably even this hatred would not induce her to sleep with a devil. To make such an act more plausible, the play shows Angingnart's metamorphosis into a youth. Her character is further developed in her dialogue with her maid, in which she com-

plains against the devilish father for causing her to conceive a child who is such a burden to carry. This complaint not only adds both a naturalistic and humorous touch to the play, but also again alludes to Antichrist's unusual parentage. Her maid's wonderment at the newly born child is equally suggestive (lines 446–49):

> Dame, regardez quel visaige
> Et quieux mambres vostres filz a.
> Certes, des ans plus de mil a
> Tieux enfes ne fu nez de mére.

The scenes involving Antichrist's mother are presented imaginatively. They exemplify the play's embellishment of traditional details in order to make the eschatological drama more understandable to its audience.

The *Jour du Jugement* is concerned, therefore, to entertain as well as to teach and warn of Antichrist. This dual purpose influences its four characteristic features. First, the play handles the tradition in an explicit fashion, painstakingly detailing its various features. Only on occasion is its presentation of the tradition vague or confused. Second, it amplifies and adds to the tradition. It is considerably longer than the *Ludus de Antichristo,* for example, taking as many lines to present Antichrist's birth as the Latin play takes for its entire action. Third, it attempts to make sense of the tradition, to provide understandable motivations, everyday characters, and believable situations. Its didacticism, therefore, does not interfere with its impressiveness as drama. Fourth, it dramatizes the larger issues at stake in the legend, the controversy between good and evil. In contrast to the *Ludus de Antichristo,* the play particularly emphasizes supernatural characters and fully reveals Antichrist's devilish supporters on the one hand and the Christian's angelic supporters on the other. In a sense, the devils and angels play such important roles that the play lacks the sense of human conflict so effectively developed in the *Ludus de Antichristo.* The *Jour du Jugement* explicitly spells out the tradition and establishes an obvious attitude toward its ac-

tion. Its sermons are clearly didactic and the eschatological significance of the action is never forgotten.

The Chester Corpus Christi cycle also dramatizes Antichrist in his eschatological context, for it follows its *Coming of Antichrist* with the *Last Judgment.* However, the 722-line *Coming of Antichrist* differs remarkably from both the *Ludus de Antichristo* and the *Jour du Jugement.* The only extant Middle English Antichrist play, it also develops details of the tradition that follow Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo,* but it is very selective and does not dramatize many of the features found in the other two plays and in other contemporary accounts of Antichrist in such works as the *Cursor Mundi* and the *Pricke of Conscience.*[49] Both the *Coming of Antichrist* and the *Last Judgment* are introduced in the Chester cycle by the *Prophets of Antichrist,* which in its purpose resembles the prefatory sermon of the *Jour du Jugement* and the dramatization of the wise and foolish virgins in the Künzelsau cycle. The *Prophets* warns of the last days and of Antichrist. In its structure, furthermore, it resembles the Chester cycle's *prophetae,* which concludes one version of *Balaack and Balaam,* the last Old Testament play of the cycle.[50] In *Balaack and Balaam,* nine Old Testament figures prophesy the birth and ministry of Christ, each prophecy followed by the explanation of an Expositor. Similarly, the *Prophets of Antichrist* presents Ezekiel, Zechariah, Daniel, and John the Evangelist prophesying events of the last days. Each is followed by the Expositor, whose interpretations generally develop standard medieval exegesis.[51] For example, after Daniel describes his vision of the four beasts that rise from the sea, the ten horns, and the little horn that overcomes the others (Dan. 7:2–8), the Expositor refers to Antichrist (lines 157–64):

By this beast understand I maye
the world to come nexte doomesdaye;
and by that horne, in good faye,
in myddest the ten can springe,
Antechriste I maye understand,
then great lord shalbe in land
and all the world have in hand
three yeares and halfe duringe.

That the Expositor concludes the *Prophets of Antichrist* by describing in detail the Fifteen Signs again shows that the play also introduces the cycle's *Last Judgment.* As *Balaack and Balaam* links the cycle's Old Testament and New Testament plays, the *Prophets of Antichrist* joins the Old and New Testament to the eschatological plays, establishing them as a special eschatological group at the end of the Chester cycle.

As with the other plays studied in this chapter, the structure of the Chester *Coming of Antichrist* is based on the Antichrist tradition. Its treatment is much more selective, however; it drastically simplifies the tradition, eliminating such features dramatized in the *Ludus de Antichristo* as the reign of the Last World Emperor, and concentrating upon two major events—Antichrist's deceitful rise to power and the opposition of Enoch and Elias. Its simplification of the tradition can be judged most clearly when the eleven characters of the Chester play are compared with the twenty-eight characters of the Latin play and the ninety-four characters of the *Jour du Jugement.* The *Coming of Antichrist* also selectively develops details of the tradition that are dramatically effective, concentrating on scenes that parallel those of earlier plays in the Chester cycle and that underscore the significance of last-day events. It begins with Antichrist's first appearance, which must have closely followed the Expositor's final warning in the *Prophets of Antichrist* (line 340): "Hee comes! Soone you shall see!" Antichrist is introduced as an adult, with no references made to his birth or youth. He opens the play with the usual blasphemous proclamation, the first eight lines of which are in Latin. As Linus Lucken notes, the Latin hexameters immediately illustrate his hypocritical assertions, for the vernacular plays usually reserve Latin speeches for God and Christ.[52] But Antichrist here claims to be Christ, the Messiah promised by Moses, David, and Isaiah. He argues, therefore, that his appearance is in fulfillment of prophecy.

The play portrays only a few characters. Antichrist establishes his reign solely by converting four kings, who are deceived by three stratagems. First, as in the *Jour du Jugement,* Antichrist usurps the role of Christ and attacks the divinity of Jesus. He

acknowledges that a man named Jesus preceded him, but points out that he was slain for his wickedness "through vertue of my sond" (line 31). In contrast, Enoch later speaks in the name of "Jesu, borne of a maye" (line 326) and claims to be sent "by Jesu Christe omnypotent" (line 330). The divinity of Jesus is thus one of the major points of contention in the play. Antichrist always claims to be "Christ," the Son of God, whereas Enoch and Elias deny he is Christ and defend Jesus as the Son of God (lines 326, 330, 570). Antichrist's attack apparently is effective—it is certainly well chosen for converting the four kings. Throughout most of the play, they refer either to Christ or to the Messiah, but never to Jesus, thus implying that they reject the claim of Jesus to be Christ. Only *after* their conversion by Enoch and Elias do the four kings name Jesus, and then they do so four times within only sixteen lines (lines 595–611) and identify him now as Christ the savior, "borne of a maye" (line 595). The distinction between Christ and Jesus in the language of the play's characters symbolically reflects the larger issues of the play, the distinction between Antichrist, who falsely claims to be Christ, and Jesus, who is the Christ—the distinction between falsehood and truth.

Antichrist's second stratagem to deceive the four kings is to work marvels as proof of his divinity. When the kings ask for proof in the form of signs, Antichrist promises an exotic wonder, to turn trees upside down and make fruit grow from the roots (lines 81–84). This example of nature reversed is not staged, but he does raise the dead (lines 89–112). His final and most effective stratagem, however, is his pretended imitation of Christ's life. This imitation must have been particularly effective and obvious to the Chester audience, for of the twenty-five plays in the cycle, sixteen enact events from Christ's life. The life of Christ thus lies implicitly in the background of Antichrist's career. Now Antichrist sets out to parody scenes previously dramatized in the cycle. In addition to usurping Christ's role, he claims that he will die and rise again in three days. With a melodramatic "I dye, I dye! Nowe am I dead!" (line 133), he apparently dies and is buried by the four kings. Impressed, they await his resur-

rection, which immediately follows. They are now convinced and set off for the temple to worship him as God.

Antichrist's parody of the cycle's earlier scenes does not end here, however. He next follows his blasphemous resurrection by calling down the "holye ghooste," an unusual literary example of his false imitation of Christ that is illustrated in later medieval art (see figure 9). The sacred parody is again apparent to the Chester audience, since the cycle stages the *Pentecost* before the *Prophets of Antichrist.* Furthermore, the kings react in a fashion that resembles the apostles' reaction in the earlier play:

> Petrus: A mercye, lord, full of might!
> Both I feele and see in sight
> the Holye Ghoost ys on us light;
> [of] fyre this house full ys.
> (*Pentecost,* lines 255–58)
>
> Severalis Rex: A, God! A, lord mycle of might!
> This holye ghoost is in me pight.
> Methinkes my harte ys verey light
> syth yt came into mee.
> (*Antichrist,* lines 197–200)

At this point, moreover, the play does not suggest that these miracles are false, and Antichrist successfully gains power through his deceit.

He now establishes an earthly kingdom (lines 205–52) by giving lands to the kings. Enoch and Elias then enter, each uttering a prayer. The audience is already familiar with their mission, for in addition to the Expositor's explanations in the *Prophets of Antichrist* (lines 173–260), the Chester cycle had earlier presented the two prophets in its *Harrowing of Hell.* There they appear in the traditional Earthly Paradise and explain their eschatological mission to the newly released Adam (*Harrowing,* lines 245–52):

> Yea, bodely death, leeve thou mee,
> yett never suffred wee,
> but here ordaynt we are to bee
> tyll Antechriste come with hise.
> To fight agaynst us shall hee

and slea us in this holye cittye;
but sekerly, within days three
and a halfe, we shall ryse.

Their opening prayers in the *Coming of Antichrist* now detail their mission once again and serve as a further reminder of what is to come. They pray for the power to convert the people, to disprove Antichrist's "pompe and pryde" (line 283). The four kings are drawn to the prophets and assure them support if they can defeat Antichrist in debate. The stage is thus set for the main event of the play, the great disputation between the prophets and Antichrist.

The debate is largely a flyting match. Enoch and Elias attack Antichrist as the "verey devylles lymme" (line 341), "the devylls owne nurrye" (line 354), and the "false fyend common from hell" (line 395). Antichrist retorts that the prophets are false, that they are flatterers, beguilers, and hypocrites. As the debate continues, Antichrist's character gradually changes from that of a holy man unjustly abused to a raving tyrant threatening his opponents. At first he simply asks that the prophets leave, but his true self does not remain hidden for long, and he threatens to hang the prophets. He further demands that they worship him (lines 402–9). This dispute clearly depicts Antichrist's falseness in two ways. To begin with, his theology is terribly confused. When Enoch states his faith in the Trinity, Antichrist asks, "What ys the Trinitye for to saye?" (line 491). His ignorance, of course, is especially ridiculous, since he has earlier pretended to call the Holy Ghost from heaven and even now claims "Goddes Sonne I am, from him sent" (line 514). The prophets also disprove Antichrist's divine claims by presenting physical proof of his deceit. Since he depends on his miracles as proof of his divinity, the prophets directly disprove his raising of the dead. Demanding to see the resurrected men, they insist that the men eat food blessed in the name of Jesus. The men, of course, react in fear (lines 581–84):

To looke on hit I am not light.
That bread to me yt ys so bright
and ys my foe both daye and night,
and puttes me to great deare.

As is the case in the *Jour du Jugement*, the corpses are obviously inhabited by devils. The scene, both theologically and dramatically effective, is unique in Antichrist drama and is probably based on a similar incident in the popular Simon Magus legend.[53]

The four kings are now reconverted by Enoch and Elias, and they praise Jesus and prepare for martyrdom (lines 586–616). After they are killed, Michael appears, identifies the deceiver for the first time as "Antechriste" (line 625), accuses him of serving Satan, and kills him. Two devils then lead him to hell, mourning the death of their "mayster." Their comments also for the first time make explicit Antichrist's relationship to the devils. He has won glory and deceived many through their power, they claim. In a specific reference to Adso's explanation of Antichrist's birth, they relate how he was conceived of a whore and educated by the devil (lines 667–72):

This bodye was gotten by myne assent
in cleane whooredome, verament.
Of mother wombe or that he went,
I was him within
and taught him aye with myne intent
synne, by which hee shalbe shent.

While the devils tell of his punishment awaiting in hell, Enoch and Elias rise in glory from the dead and are led to heaven by Michael, who sings "Gaudete justi in domino," the chant for All Saints (lines 699–722).[54] The play then ends, like the treatment of Antichrist in some medieval art (see figure 10), with Antichrist safely in hell and Enoch and Elias in heaven—clear proof that the four kings chose wisely and an object lesson for the Chester audience. For example, Michael lectures Antichrist, tell-

ing him "that more ys Goddes majestie/ then eke the dyvell and thyne" (lines 638–39), and Elias praises God for helping "all that leeven in thee stydfastlye" (line 711).

In contrast to the *Jour du Jugement,* the *Coming of Antichrist* portrays only a few characters and, until the final scene, minimizes Antichrist's devilish character. As in the *Ludus de Antichristo,* it portrays the conflict in human terms, a confrontation between the human representatives of good, Enoch and Elias, and of evil, Antichrist. The play further presents only four kings, who represent all peoples who must decide which side to join. The kings are characterized as religious and sincere, although naïve and easily deceived. They are not evil; their decisions are based only on what is presented to them—first, Antichrist's claims and wonders, and second, the theological arguments of the two prophets. The character of Antichrist, furthermore, lies somewhere between that of the "human Antichrist" of the *Ludus de Antichristo* and that of the "devilish Antichrist" of the *Jour du Jugement.* For the most part, he is the human deceiver and tyrant. His devilish side becomes evident only after the kings make their decision, for then he calls for aid from "Sathanas," "Lucyfere," "Belzebubb," and "Ragnell" (lines 645–47). However, his character is gradually revealed throughout the play, especially as the opposition of the prophets breaks down his phony holiness. In many respects, his character resembles that of other devilish and tyrannical characters of the mystery plays. Yet, although pompous speeches, confused theology, and tyrannical raging may have elicited what V. A. Kolve terms "Religious Laughter"—that Christian response to the foolishness of those who oppose God—he is not primarily a "comic" character.[55] The representative of evil, he martyrs God's representatives and leads many souls to eternal damnation (lines 677–78). The adamant opposition of Enoch and Elias and his successful initial deceit of the kings reveal his real power and his significance in the last days.

Like the *Ludus de Antichristo* and the *Jour du Jugement,* the Chester *Coming of Antichrist* accomplishes the aim of medieval religious drama: to portray in an effective and striking manner significant Christian beliefs. The Antichrist tradition is an im-

portant element in this body of religious belief and it serves as the common basis for the three plays. All three refer to many details of the tradition; however, each play is unique in what it chooses to dramatize. The Latin play treats Antichrist after presenting the legend of the Last World Emperor, perhaps glorifying Frederick Barbarossa, but certainly emphasizing the imminent rise of a much more powerful and crafty world leader. The Old French play particularly develops popular versions of the tradition, its romance and anti-Jewish elements, yet emphasizes Antichrist's eschatological significance by directly linking his career with the Last Judgment. The Middle English cycle play does not present Antichrist's entire life, nor does it dramatize the legend of the Last World Emperor. Instead, it develops scenes that effectively contrast the pseudo-Christ with Christ, and it especially focuses on the choice Christians must make—between Christ and Antichrist. It is a crucial choice, for Doomsday follows Antichrist's deceit. Like the medieval universal chronicles, the Chester cycle develops the Antichrist tradition as a transition from its portrayal of the early church to the *Last Judgment.* These eschatological plays serve as suitable conclusions for the Corpus Christi cycle dramatizing salvation history. Along with the *Jour du Jugement,* the two Chester Antichrist plays especially exemplify the continuing influence of the traditional exegetical interpretations of Antichrist even in the later Middle Ages. Together with the *Ludus de Antichristo,* these plays also reflect the variety of medieval religious drama and the vitality of the Antichrist tradition.

Antichrist in Medieval Allegories

Later medieval visionary poems continue to treat the conflict between good and evil dramatized in the Antichrist plays, but instead of bringing characters on stage to act out last-day events, these poems tend to interpret the conflict in personal terms. Barbara Nolan notes a shift in the later Middle Ages toward the personal spiritual needs of the individual Christian and believes that this shift is reflected in Apocalypse interpretations and illus-

trations and that it influenced later medieval visionary poems.[56] It is true, certainly, that in the later Middle Ages poets treated the Antichrist tradition allegorically in order not only to portray Antichrist as the leader of evil, but also to involve personally the poem's narrator and thus, presumably, the reader in the battle between good and evil. In both the Old French *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist* and the Middle English *Piers Plowman,* Antichrist leads an army of evil characters in his attack upon Christianity, and in both poems the narrator becomes personally involved and must decide with which army he will side.

The two poems represent the best examples of Antichrist's allegorical association with the vices. Each poem draws, however, upon a distinct version of the vices. The *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist* portrays Antichrist as part of the Christian *psychomachia,* as one leader of the continuing war for the soul, whereas *Piers Plowman* portrays him as the final leader of evil. On the one hand the *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist* develops the moral battle between the vices and virtues first detailed in literature by Prudentius (ca. 348–410) and popular throughout medieval literature. *Piers Plowman,* on the other hand, draws upon the popular belief that in the last days the vices will greatly increase in number and power (see chapter 2).[57] This expectation was developed by Cyprian (ca. 200–58) and Lactantius and firmly linked to the Antichrist tradition by Berengaudus, who allegorically interpreted the seven heads of the beast from the sea (Apoc. 13) as representing the seven vices. Unlike the *psychomachia,* this eschatological treatment of the vices does not necessarily present them as battling corresponding virtues, although they often undermine and subvert the virtues. More important, this treatment often portrays the vices of the last days as triumphant, while in the *psychomachia* the virtues are victorious. Dorothy Owen is correct, then, in noting that in both poems "allegory is used to depict the spiritual forces of which the poet saw the outward manifestation in the events of his own times"; however, she is mistaken in concluding that "in both, the conflict described is regarded as merely one phase of the incessant warfare between good and evil."[58] As this study will show, *Piers Plowman* does not

describe "merely one phase," but the final battle between good and evil. Its treatment of Antichrist differs radically from that of the *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist.*

The *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist* is an Old French poem of 3,544 lines written in octosyllabic couplets by Huon de Méry about 1234–37. It is a courtly poem describing the poet's *aventure* on an expedition into Brittany with the army of King Louis IX (1214–70) that led to his taking vows and entering the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Pres, Paris.[59] A brief summary of the poem will illustrate Huon de Méry's skillful fusion of features drawn from the courtly romance, the Antichrist tradition, and the *psychomachia.* Although not cast as a dream, the poem describes an essentially otherworldly vision. Its setting is that of the courtly romance. While on his expedition into Brittany, Huon visits the famous fountain in the Forest of Broceliande described in Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain* (ca. 1170). After dousing the fountain twice, he meets Bras-de-Fer, Antichrist's chamberlain, who explains that Antichrist has challenged the Lord of Heaven (the poem's name for Christ) to a tournament and invites Huon to accompany him as he prepares for Antichrist's arrival. They journey to Desesperance, Antichrist's headquarters and the opposite of Christ's city, Esperance. There Huon witnesses Antichrist's arrival and a grisly allegorical banquet similar to the hellish banquet of Raoul de Houdenc's *Songe d'Enfer* (ca. 1214). In an extensive description totalling about 1,500 lines, Huon then details the army of Antichrist (about seventy characters) and the opposing army of Christ (about fifty characters) as they prepare for battle. Huon here borrows from *psychomachia* literature, for the opposing armies are largely composed of the vices and the virtues. In portraying the combatants, he also follows the descriptive patterns of the courtly tournament found in romances and tournament poems popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[60] The battle then ensues, with appropriate characters fighting one another. In the midst of the tournament, Huon is wounded by a stray arrow shot by Venus. He then demands judgment to determine whether Venus, his eyes, or his heart is to blame for the wound, and Reason determines that the blame

lies in his heart. The tournament ends with the defeat of Antichrist and the routing of evil. Antichrist gives his pledge and retreats to Desesperance while the victors, accompanied by Huon, return to Esperance for another allegorical banquet. Although Antichrist later escapes from Desesperance to Foi-Mentie, the Lord of Heaven and his followers decide not to bother with him for the winter, and the virtuous set out for Paradise. Huon now enters Saint-Germain and the poem ends.

The *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist* is primarily a didactic poem that presents the perpetual battle between good and evil and its particular effect on one individual, either Huon de Méry or his adventurous persona. Structured according to a dualistic pattern, the poem continually emphasizes the dichotomy between good and evil—the two cities, the two banquets, the two leaders, the two armies. Huon supplements the traditional *psychomachia* with other representatives of good and evil. For example, the poem includes Gawain, Lancelot, and Cliges in Christ's army and such political and national enemies of France as the Normans, Burgundians, and English in Antichrist's army. The poem thus uses the tradition in a polemical fashion to attack the anti-French, but Huon also may have been interested in identifying as far as possible the various forms taken by the forces of good and evil. He therefore includes in Christ's army the angels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael (lines 1,362–95), who are balanced by the hosts of pagan gods in Antichrist's army, Jupiter, Saturn, Pluto, and others (lines 566–93). They are the suitable supernatural opponents of the angels, not mortals who became divine or planetary deities, but the devilish supporters of Antichrist led by Beelzebub (line 566).[61]

The poem's dualistic structure is applied specifically to its narrator, Huon, the knight who meets Bras-de-Fer in Broceliande. The purpose is to emphasize a change in his character: he begins as a knight, arriving at the tournament with Antichrist's army; he leaves with Christ's army to become a monk. He witnesses the battle, in the midst of which he is wounded by Venus, an apparent reference to his particular sin, which is typical of courtly romances. Later he is cared for by Confession and enters Esper-

ance, at which point Bras-de-Fer, his companion throughout the poem, leaves him. The *psychomachia,* in other words, represents the specific battle for Huon's soul. Apparently, Antichrist has challenged Christ to a tournament to determine who will control Huon. According to Marc-René Jung, the poem is a "monastic allegory" that merges the victory against Antichrist with the history of a specific conversion.[62] The *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist* is more concerned with the conversion of Huon than with the end of the world. It draws upon the Antichrist tradition for many details but is not primarily eschatological.

The poem's portrayal of Antichrist demonstrates in an original fashion how the popular tradition could be modified and merged with noneschatological conventions drawn from the *psychomachia* and the courtly romance. Antichrist is more than merely the leader of the hosts of evil, though. The poem alludes to the Antichrist tradition both in characterizing Antichrist and in describing particular incidents. For example, Antichrist is totally evil and supernaturally powerful, and his shield is decorated with pictures of false miracles (line 538). After Huon is wounded by Venus, Bras-de-Fer enchants Huon, giving him a magically written letter to wear around his neck. This letter includes "les nons Antecrit/Escriz en grieu et en latin" (lines 2,634–35), an allusion to the numerous interpretations of the mark of Antichrist whose number 666 (Apoc. 13:16–18) is interpreted in the exegetical tradition as representing symbolically the names of Antichrist. Like the mark pictured in Apocalypse illustrations and portrayed in a variety of ways in medieval drama, the letter serves as Antichrist's mark on Huon, a sign of his loyalty to evil and of the state of his soul before his conversion. It is inscribed with Antichrist's Latin and Greek names, an allusion to the symbolic interpretations of the 666 in Latin (e.g., "DicLux") and in Greek (e.g., "Teitan"). The poem's handling of Antichrist's defeat also alludes to the tradition. It is true that he is not killed in the poem, but merely defeated and later allowed to escape. Yet, as in the exegetical interpretations, it is Michael who defeats Antichrist while Christ stands ready to help (lines 2,968–77).

The members of Antichrist's army may also reflect the various types of Antichrist described throughout the exegetical tradition. Antichrist first leads out the army of pagan gods and then the vices intermingled with various heretics and enemies. The classical deities, the heretics, and the allegorical personifications may represent the three stages of Antichrist's attack in the past on the city of God. As Otto of Freising notes, the worldly city attacks the city of God first under pagan kings, second under heretics, third under hypocrites, and finally under Antichrist.[63] This sequence resembles that of the periods of church history based upon interpretations of the opening of the seven seals (Apoc. 6:1–8:5). Yet the *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist* describes all of these enemies as fighting together, simultaneously trying to defeat the forces of good for control of Huon's soul, rather than fighting individually, throughout history against God's church. Nevertheless, in the poem the pagan gods seem to correspond to the early persecutions under pagan kings, and the heretics to the great heresies of the early church. The poem, furthermore, especially refers to the Albigensians, who were understood as reviving the heresies against which Augustine previously battled.[64] The vices then correspond to the false Christians who hypocritically make up the contemporary church. As in *Piers Plowman,* they are the most effective combatants in Antichrist's army.

The Antichrist tradition, therefore, provides a context for understanding many of the details of the *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist.* However, like the Old English homilists, the poet does not develop the tradition for its own sake but for his special purposes, as a popular way to describe a cosmic conflict over the soul of an individual Christian. Thus Huon de Méry modifies the tradition where necessary. His use of Antichrist is quite original, although he depends on the traditional understanding of Antichrist as the leader of evil, the chief citizen of Babylon (Desesperance), the worker of false miracles, and the great deceiver who enchants Christians. At the end of the poem, Antichrist breaks his pledge and escapes from Desesperance, a reflection of his antichivalric behavior. He is the great antiknight in conflict with the perfect knight, Christ. Although he retreats

to Foi-Mentie, Antichrist will, the poem implies, again challenge the Lord of Heaven and again be defeated. The poem does not develop a view of Christian history that places Antichrist in eschatological context, nor does it even allude to events of the last days. It does not portray the *psychomachia* as a cataclysmic battle with dramatic results. It is not an eschatological poem but an allegorical description of an individual conversion. Its mood is optimistic, for in each Christian, as within Huon, the virtues can triumph. Christ and his armies return to Paradise and the poet enters Saint-Germain to live out his life peacefully. He has won his victory and need not be concerned with Antichrist.

In contrast, the conclusion of *Piers Plowman* quite obviously differs from the leisurely conclusion of the *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist*. The poem ends with its dreamer, Will, near death in a corrupt church, Unity, hopelessly besieged from without and undermined from within by the hosts of Antichrist. Early in the poem, Will has set out on a quest in search for Truth and ultimately for salvation. Now, at the end of the poem, he sees Antichrist. The scene is part of the poem's final section, Do-Best, which has been called "perhaps the most difficult—and the most frequently ignored—part of the poem."[65] Its conclusion has often been misunderstood because its description of Antichrist's attack has not been interpreted in its eschatological context and as reflecting the popular medieval Antichrist tradition. In fact, the attack of Antichrist in Do-Best is the climax of the poem. The remainder of this chapter will trace briefly the action of *Piers Plowman* and then analyze its treatment of the Antichrist tradition.

Although the subject of numerous textual and critical essays, *Piers Plowman* remains a profoundly difficult poem. Available in three texts (A, ca. 1365–68; B, ca. 1377–78; C, ca. 1385–90) probably written by one man, William Langland, it is divided into two main parts, the *Visio* and the *Vita,* which itself is divided into three sections, Do-Well, Do-Better, and Do-Best.[66] The *Visio* pictures contemporary society as dualistic, comprising the two cities (symbolically, Jerusalem and Babylon) which in the poem are called the Tower of Truth and the Dungeon of Hell. Their

major citizens are Lady Holy Church and Conscience, on the one hand, and Lady Meed and False on the other.[67] Unfortunately, in contemporary society, the forces of evil appear victorious; they are certainly more popular and create much confusion in society. The future of this society is therefore essentially pessimistic, with little hope for renovation. Throughout the *Visio*, the corruption of the world is understood as a sign, a warning of future evils (Prol.: 62–67). It is true that the *Visio* also includes a series of prophecies that envision the ultimate regeneration or reform of society (3: 284–30; C. 6:180), perhaps by a good king or Last World Emperor, but none of these utopian societies are established. Significantly, the characters who predict the *renovatio mundi* in the *Visio* are spokesmen of natural reason and lack the greater perspective provided by the traditional Christian interpretation of history.[68] Thus, although the numerous prophecies of *Piers Plowman* help develop a sense of apocalyptic expectation, the action of the poem suggests that the prophecies will remain unfulfilled.

One of the basic themes of *Piers Plowman* is that a human reformation of society is ultimately doomed to failure. Even Piers Plowman, the poem's representative in the *Visio* of the good and honest man, fails in his attempt to redeem society by establishing the ideal half acre. At first Piers is able to organize society, each social state fulfilling its duties (6:1–116); most Christians, however, find an ideal society too difficult to live in and it too collapses (6:117–60). Piers then calls upon Hunger to help (6:173–99), and the confusion continues, leading to further prophecies, this time of future doom (6:324–31). Truth now sends Piers a pardon (7:1–118), which in frustration at his failure he tears "for pure tene" (7:119). Piers then turns away from society and sets out on his own, leaving Will and many readers baffled. The *Visio* is then brought to a close with another warning of Doomsday (7:193–206).

The poem's second major division, the *Vita*, begins with Do-Well. It emphasizes Will's inward journey to discover the intellectual knowledge concerning the source of doing well and obtaining salvation.[69] The search is now personal rather than so-

cial; it is a solitary quest in which Will meets several allegorical abstractions who attempt to teach him. The quest is motivated by the failure of social reformation and the realization that salvation is achieved by the individual rather than by society. The *Vita*'s second section, Do-Better, expands on Do-Well by introducing the story of salvation found in Christian history. Its allegorical vision of the Tree of Charity (16:1–94) proves the necessity of the Incarnation and ministry of Christ. Do-Better then describes the biblical events of the historical past that portray Christ's life on earth and his joust against death and the devil (18:1–91). Later it describes the Harrowing of Hell (18:251–406) and includes a promise of Christ's ultimate victory over the forces of evil that characterize the *Visio* and plague Unity in Do-Best. The Harrowing of Hell is, as Morton Bloomfield states, "the only display of Christ in His majesty before the final scene of His return; it foreshadows the Last Judgment."[70]

The context of Christian history clearly shows the basis of salvation and helps explain the condition of contemporary society. The poem's final section, Do-Best, continues to develop Christian history. It begins when Conscience in a sermon explains the significance of Christ's victory over death (19:4–148), relates Christ's activities after the Resurrection (19:148–82), his entrusting to Peter the power to bind and unbind (19:183–90), and his Ascension to heaven where he waits until the end of the world to judge all men (19:191–98). Church history follows with Pentecost (19:201–10), continues with the establishment of the church, and concludes with the ultimate appearance of Antichrist (20:52–79). The historical pattern, typical of the Antichrist tradition and evident in much medieval literature, is therefore very important to the structure of *Piers Plowman*'s closing visions. However, in Do-Best this pattern is more complex than is at first apparent. Do-Best describes Will's two final visions—in each the dreamer sees the church, Unity, attacked by the forces of evil. Although in some ways similar, these two complex visions do not describe the same events but portray two separate periods in the history of the church. Robert W. Frank notes a distinction in "detail and tone" between the two visions,

but does not explain its cause.[71] The tone and details differ precisely because the first vision (passus 19) describes the past attack of a *type* of Antichrist, allegorically Pride, whereas the second vision (passus 20) describes the contemporary attack of Antichrist. The past attack is withstood by a noncorrupted church, whereas the contemporary attack is not withstood.

After summarizing the events of Christ's ministry on earth, the first vision of Do-Best (passus 19) describes Pentecost and the distribution of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. In another prophecy of the future, Grace predicts the coming of Antichrist (19:219–26):

> "For Antecrist and hise al þe world shul greue
> And acombre þee, Conscience, but if crist þee helpe.
> And false prophetes fele, flatereris and gloseris,
> Shullen come and be curatours ouer kynges and Erles;
> And Pride shal be Pope, Prynce of holy chirche,
> Coueitise and vnkyndenesse Cardinals hym to lede.
> Forþi," quod grace, "er I go I wol gyue yow tresor
> And wepne to fighte wiþ whan Antecrist yow assailleþ."

The prophecy associates Antichrist with his traditional companions and predicts the future corruption of the church and its leaders. It is one of the few prophecies fulfilled in the poem, but not immediately—it refers to the second vision (passus 20), when Antichrist comes against the contemporary church. Now, the first vision of Do-Best concentrates on the establishment of the early church by discussing its foundations. Soon after Grace builds Unity, however, it is attacked by Pride. He is a general symbol of deceit and hypocrisy—not Antichrist, but his most important forerunner in the poem, a type of Antichrist who attacks the church in its early years. *Piers Plowman* describes many other evil characters, and some of these may also be understood as forerunners of Antichrist. For example, False, who is described as the son of the devil (C. 3:143–44), has much in common with Antichrist, whereas Cain (10:334–35) may prefigure Antichrist's followers in the last days, the friars. The poem in the C version may also develop Mohammed as a forerunner of Antichrist, for

he was popularly understood as the anti-Messiah of the Saracens and Jews (C. 18:156).[72] But Pride is Antichrist's most evident and certainly most powerful type. Against Unity he leads a great army, which includes Spille-loue and Spek-yuel-bihynde and which systematically attempts to mislead Christians. Yet Conscience resists Pride's attack by calling all Christians into Unity. Their response is heartening and the church is temporarily victorious.

Neither the first vision nor church history ends here. Historically, the church became corrupt and what follows in Do-Best is an example of that corruption. The commons question the necessity of *redde quod debes,* and a brewer attacks the concept of *spiritus iusticie,* both important for the right working of Christian society. A Vicar then describes the ills of the church, especially of its spiritual leadership.[73] His long and detailed portrayal serves as a transition between the historical church of the past described earlier in the passus and the contemporary church prophesied by Grace when he gave the gifts of the Holy Ghost. The Vicar's indictment is directed particularly against the papacy (19:442–50) and the corrupt commons (19:451–58) and complains that "alle þo faire vertues as vices þei semeþ" (19:456), a common description of the evils of the last days. Again, the attempt to establish an ideal society on earth, even one based on love and grace, has failed. The poem has now come full circle, for it returns to the picture of contemporary evil described in the *Visio.* Yet now it emphasizes specific spiritual problems of the church rather than of society in general.

The final vision of *Piers Plowman* opens with the attack of Antichrist, the eschatological figure who precedes the Second Advent of Christ and the Last Judgment in Christian history. Although Langland is not interested in developing the traditional details of Antichrist's life, the poem's portrayal of Antichrist draws upon many features of the tradition (20:52–79). That Antichrist comes "in mannes forme" (20:52) shows that Langland understands him to be a man, a distinct historical character and not merely a symbol of evil. The phrase may also refer to the traditional argument that Antichrist, although the "son of

the devil" and "a fals fend," is human and not a supernatural figure.

The next three lines (53–55) describe Antichrist's traditional opposition to truth and develop the notion that he will increase evil. They can be read as follows: "Antichrist then came and turned upside down all the crop of truth and overturned its root and made false arise and spread and increase (or provide for) men's needs."[74] This traditional notion is portrayed figuratively in language that strongly hints at one of Antichrist's most popular miracles: He turns upside down the "crop of truþe . . . and ouertilte þe roote," making "fals sprynge and sprede." Langland often conceives of truth and falsehood growing as plants. This metaphor is basic to the agricultural imagery so prominent throughout the poem and is next developed when he states that Antichrist cut away truth in every country and caused guile to grow (lines 56–57). Yet the diction of this passage is particularly apt, for it suggests the miracle, developed in the art of Antichrist (see fig. 4) and referred to in the Chester *Coming of Antichrist*, whereby Antichrist makes the plucked-up roots of an overturned tree bloom. "Crop" can mean, as it does in the Tree of Charity scene (C. 19:75, 108), the upper part of a tree, while "sprynge" implies growth. The lines picture the traditional expectation that evil will overturn truth and that the vices will flourish as one of Antichrist's miraculous acts, a violent and unnatural dislocation of truth to be imagined visually as an overturned tree of truth with blooming roots of evil. If indeed Langland had this image in mind, it is a powerful use of the traditional miracle—the wondrous act becomes a sign of Antichrist's power and evil.

The next lines continue to develop traditional beliefs concerning Antichrist. That in each country he causes deceit to grow "as he a god weere" (line 57) alludes to Antichrist's blasphemy and his claim to be divine, for traditionally his "Ego sum Christus" is his greatest deceit. That he is a "tyraunt" (line 60) and reigns over all folk (line 64) refers to his political aspirations. However, although Do-Best briefly shows the effect of Antichrist's followers on Westminster (20:129–39), it emphasizes Antichrist's spir-

itual deceit. He is particularly accepted by the religious (lines 58–60) and is immensely popular: "Antecrist hadde þus soone hundredes at his baner" (line 69). Only a few "fooles" who would rather die than live under Antichrist reject him (lines 61–63). They represent the true Christians (1 Cor. 4:10–13), the faithful whom Antichrist kills in his great persecution of the church. Since they are meek and holy and fear no evil, they defy Antichrist and the falseness of his followers (lines 65–66). As during Pride's earlier attack in Do-Best's first vision, Conscience calls the remnant faithful into Unity (lines 74–75), but with differing results. The "fools" will need to stand on their own, for the church is weakened.

The remainder of the final vision of *Piers Plowman* presents a series of complex scenes that explain the nature of Antichrist's attack and show how his followers carefully undermine the basis of Unity. As in the *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist,* the vices are Antichrist's most powerful supporters. However, *Piers Plowman* does not portray an opposing army of virtues. The closing scenes of Do-Best are not a *psychomachia* but a vision of the vices that overrun the world in the last days. They are led by Pride, now Antichrist's lieutenant, who carries his banner (line 70). As the chief of the deadly sins, Pride is often coupled with Antichrist in later medieval literature.[75] Other sins, such as Lechery, Sloth, Envy, and Covetousness also appear in the attack, so that when Will enters Unity, he sees Conscience assailed by Antichrist "wiþ seuene grete geauntȝ" (lines 215–16). The poem ends with Sloth and Pride preparing for a further attack on Unity and Conscience setting out on a pilgrimage for Piers Plowman "þat pryde [myȝte] destruye" (line 382).

Antichrist's army also includes the vicious clergy, especially the friars, the archetypal hypocrites condemned throughout the poem. Significantly, the earlier attack of Pride in Do-Best's first vision did not include the friars. Their presence in Antichrist's army in the second vision shows that Unity now is not the victorious church of the past that withstood Pride but the contemporary church that is part of the corrupt society pictured in the *Visio.* For example, Conscience mistakenly invites the friars into

Unity under condition that they do not grow out of number, a common complaint of antifraternal polemics.[76] But they follow Envy, and then Friar Flatterer, "sire *Penetrans domos*" (line 340), comes with easy medicine. Although the friar is at first opposed by the gatekeeper, Peace, Hende Speche convinces Peace to open the gates that the friar may "acorde wiþ Conscience and kisse hir eiþer ooþer" (line 353). The whole scene recalls the *Visio,* where the King asks that Conscience marry Lady Meed. Earlier, Conscience refuses (3:120), but here he welcomes Friar Flatterer, and directs him to his wounded cousin, Contrition. With the friars in the church, Sloth and Pride attack again, but now Conscience's allies are all enchanted so that "þei drede no synne" (line 379). Under these hopeless conditions, Conscience sets out as a pilgrim and the poem ends.

There is much critical disagreement concerning the conclusion of *Piers Plowman.* Some critics argue that the ending is optimistic, that it suggests a future reformation of society, while others argue that it is pessimistic, that it provides little hope for any change in the condition of the church.[77] Actually, the poem's conclusion is typical of the Antichrist tradition, which is both pessimistic and optimistic. It is pessimistic in that there is no human solution for Antichrist's attack. It is optimistic in that those Christians who stand firmly against Antichrist will be rewarded ultimately when Christ comes in glory and destroys Antichrist. The poem's conclusion is similarly pessimistic and optimistic. It is pessimistic in that it portrays without any relief the attack of Antichrist, the final leader of evil in the last days who ruthlessly persecutes the church. He is not merely a polemical device by which Langland can condemn the friars and other evil characters in the church. He is not, as Robert W. Frank suggests, merely a "term of abuse," but the eschatological Antichrist who comes at the climax of church history.[78] Furthermore, the ending is pessimistic in that it does not suggest, as Morton Bloomfield and others have argued, that a regeneration of society will follow Antichrist's reign.[79] *Piers Plowman* follows the conservative exegetical interpretations of Antichrist rather than the radical Joachimist expectation of a *renovatio mundi* after Antichrist's

defeat. The poem repeatedly shows that attempts to create ideal societies fail. Although Bloomfield's view that "the whole section of the *Vita* is eschatologically oriented" is certainly correct, his conclusion that it culminates "in a social transformation, to arise in Do-best out of the ashes of contemporary impiety and sin" seems mistaken.[80] There is simply no evidence in Do-Best that such is the case. On the contrary, the fact that Do-Best is eschatological suggests that what follows "contemporary impiety and sin" is the Last Judgment and not the establishment of a millennial society.

Instead, *Piers Plowman* emphasizes the need for an individual search for salvation. When the poem is so understood, its ending is clearly optimistic, for Will, the dreamer who set out on the quest to seek Truth, finally chooses to enter Unity and stand with the "fools." That he does so only when threatened by natural calamities (the signs of the end) ultimately affecting him personally (lines 183–98) shows that the poem is typically didactic. Only when Will envisions both the collapse of society and his own death does his decision become clear. Finding himself an old man, the dreamer under Kynde's advice enters Unity, for he has learned to love (line 208) and love is, as Holy Church first told him, the "leche of lif and next oure lord selue,/ And also þe graiþe gate þat goþ into heuene" (1: 204–5). Will therefore finally reaches his destination, the church. It is a church beset by enemies, but it is the only way to salvation. Mary Carruthers' picture of Will as he enters Unity seems mistaken: "Will's physical impotence mirrors the vitiated state of his soul; weakened in body and spirit, the end of his long quest is to seek a dubious refuge in the doomed house of Unity."[81] On the contrary, the house of Unity, though weakened, is not doomed. As the attack of Antichrist emphasizes, the "fools" that Conscience calls into Unity do withstand Antichrist, even if they must pay for their opposition with their lives (lines 61–63). Will's entrance into Unity, then, is his most positive act in *Piers Plowman* and the climax of the poem toward which all of its previous action leads.[82]

After Will enters Unity the final attack of Antichrist begins. It is described until the end of the poem, when Conscience sets out

to find Piers Plowman. Some scholars, interpreting the poem in Joachimist terms, explain that the Piers whom Conscience seeks here represents an "Angelic Pope" who will institute a reformation of the church, especially a reformation of the friars. Frank, for example, argues that at the poem's conclusion "nothing more than an ideal pope is needed to reform the friars by giving them a 'fyndyng.' "[83] However, in light of the poem's overwhelming pessimism toward man's ability to reform society, such a statement seems simplistic. Conscience's pilgrimage for Piers Plowman more likely emblematically expresses the Christian conscience's expectation of the return of Christ, the victorious Piers of Do-Better. He alone can defeat Antichrist and his lieutenant, Pride, and he alone can solve the dilemma of the church and sinful society. That the conclusion does not portray the Second Advent does not deny its eschatological significance. The historical pattern of Do-Better and Do-Best leads inevitably to the end of the world; threats of Doomsday abound throughout the poem. Yet Langland prefers to describe either the contemporary problems of the church faced by Antichrist or the past, historically recorded victories of the church and Christ. He is concerned with the decisions the individual Christian will make in the present and therefore ends his poem as Will awakes to ponder the significance of contemporary events. He does not depict the future, although the present conditions of church and society imply what that future must be.[84]

Piers Plowman depends on the traditional pattern of last-day events that follows the coming of Antichrist and the signs of the end with the Second Advent of Christ and Doomsday. The confusion and despair distinguish its conclusion from the peaceful conclusion of the *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist*. The poems, although resembling each other on the surface, actually differ radically in tone and effect. Their individual treatment of Antichrist at least partly accounts for this difference. Although it portrays personified vices in the army of Antichrist, *Piers Plowman* does not allegorize Antichrist as merely the leader of evil directing the vices to fight for the soul of one Christian. Antichrist in *Piers Plowman* is the final leader of evil in the last days,

who attacks the church and forces the individual Christian to decide with whom he will stand. Like the homilists before him, Langland depicts Antichrist at the conclusion of his poem to emphasize the significance of the times, to remind his readers that time is short, and to force Will—and by inference every Christian—to make a decision to withstand Antichrist and prepare for Doomsday.

The literary treatments of Antichrist described in this chapter, along with the artistic illustrations of the tradition described in chapter 4, emphasize once again the popularity of the tradition in the Middle Ages. The exegetical interpretation of a few biblical texts, coupled with sibylline legends and encouraged by apocalyptic expectations of the imminent end, grew into a widespread and complex body of beliefs that were discussed in theological compendia, illustrated in a wide variety of art media, and developed in homilies, histories, plays, and allegorical poems. In the medieval view of history, Antichrist will play the crucial final role in the battle between good and evil on earth. He represents the natural culmination of a certain Christian dualism, a totally evil human to contrast with the perfect humanity of Christ. Stories of his terrors and expectations of his appearance were popular because they included many exotic legends, devilish characters, and miraculous deeds; they remained relevant, furthermore, since it was easy for medieval Christians to look upon the evils of their particular time as the signs of the last days. Each generation of Christians could expect Antichrist anew and consider itself as living at the culmination of history. To the Christian of the Middle Ages, Antichrist's appearance in the future was certain, his deceits dangerous, his deeds horrible. But if the Christian could remain faithful during the short reign of terror, he would be rewarded when Christ appeared in judgment shortly following the pseudo-Christ's defeat.

Conclusion: Antichrist in the Renaissance

That Apocalyptic imagery continued to be influential in sixteenth-century art and literature is perhaps best evident in the first book of the *Faerie Queene,* in which Spenser develops numerous associations with the Apocalypse to "give depth and significance" to his allegory.[1] The first book's action, Archimago's duping the Red Crosse Knight into abandoning Una and accompanying Duessa, reflects one of the great themes of the medieval Antichrist tradition. Archimago is a hypocritical miracle worker who resembles Antichrist in his powers and purposes, whereas Una, the one true Christian church, is contrasted with Duessa, the duplicitous false church of hypocrites and heretics. As commentators, historians, and poets noted throughout the Middle Ages, two churches or bodies are in constant conflict with one another, and the body of the devil, the false church, will be led by Antichrist in attack against the true church, the body of Christ. The individual Christian (Red Crosse) must be aware of such an attack and prepare to stand with the righteous. Duessa's significance as the false church is especially evident in her portrayal as the whore of Babylon (Apoc. 17:3–6). Spenser describes the beast on which Duessa sits as a composite of the medieval symbols of Satan and Antichrist—the dragon of Apocalypse 12:3, which persecutes the woman robed in the sun and with its tail drags down a third of the stars from the heaven, and the seven-headed beast of Apocalypse 13:1–6, which utters blasphemies against God and takes authority from the dragon. This conflation of two apocalyptic symbols, of course, is not unusual. But in at least one detail, it reflects the new Protestant interpretation of the Apocalypse, for Orgoglio gives Duessa a "gold and purple pall to weare,/ And triple crown set on her head full hye,/

And her endowd with royal maiestye."[2] Duessa, the false church, wears the triple crown of the papacy and thus comes to symbolize specifically Roman Catholicism.

In describing the whore of Babylon as wearing the triple crown, Spenser follows an interpretative tradition developed throughout the sixteenth century in numerous English Protestant commentaries on the Book of Revelation. William Tyndale (ca. 1494–1536) in *The Obedience of a Christen Man* argues that Catholics "set up that great idol, the Whore of Babylon, antichrist of Rome, whom they call pope . . . ," whereas John Bale (1495–1563) identifies the whore as the hypocritical church, the "Romish religion," whose golden cup contains false religion, logic, and rhetoric.[3] Such polemical identifications are institutionalized in the marginal glosses of the Geneva Bible, which distinguish between the seven-headed beast as representing ancient Rome, and the whore as the new Rome or papacy, "the antichrist, that is, the Pope with the whole bodie of his filthie creatures. . . ."[4] Explained in commentaries and sermons and popularized in poetry and drama, the identification of the whore and Antichrist with Rome and Catholicism took hold of the Protestant imagination. For example, Thomas Dekker's *Whore of Babylon* (1606), which in a dumb show stages the queen of Babylon, describes in its prologue the evil "of that Purple whore of Roome . . . ," whereas Andrew Willet's *Sacorum emblematum centuria una,* an emblem book without pictures, summarizes the Protestant interpretation in detail:

Loe with ten hornes a dragon red,
The harlot hereupon doesth ride,
With purple robes, and crowne on head,
A deadly cup she hath beside.
To her euen kings do bow the knee,
Thus Antichrist deciphered see
As if in marble grauen were hee.
He sits at Rome, where was times past
Th'empire, of him kings hold in fee,
With heresie he the world doth waste,
A bloudie one, yet God would be.
The city with seauen hilles beset,

Is Rome it selfe, to be seene yet.
Who sitt'h in Church, and claims Christs place,
And roome to haue, and glad would raigne,
Who doth Gods word so much disgrace,
By Tiber sitt'h, as did Sibill faine,
His bonnet white, *Pontifex* his name?
The Pope him selfe, that thinkes it no shame:
Whome doth Gods word already wound,
And feare none other weapons need:
The Pope, whome Gospell doth confound,
God graunt his truth may with all speede,
This mistic darkenes away chace,
And when he com'th, him vtterly deface.[5]

The Protestant Conception of Antichrist

It is true that in the polemical literature of the later Middle Ages, the papacy is sometimes identified as Antichrist. Supporters of imperial claims, the Franciscan Spirituals who claimed to represent Joachim of Fiore's new spiritual men, heretics, and reformers all argued that the worldliness of the papacy and the degeneracy of the church reflected the evils of the last days and the work of Antichrist. To Protestants many of these late medieval opponents of the papacy became heroes, their names added to a list of the righteous who recognized Antichrist. Thus Bale includes the Waldensians and Albigensians, William of Saint Amour, Marsilia of Padua, Arnold of Villanova, Petrarch, Wyclif, and Huss with Luther, Zwingli, Melanchthon, Bucer, and Bullinger as faithful Christians who have opposed the papacy.[6] However, most of the medieval attacks upon the papacy were directed against the amorality and worldliness of individual popes rather than against the papacy as an institution and certainly not against the church in general. For example, Joachim of Fiore never intended his third *status* to replace the institutional church, and even many Franciscan Spirituals, often frustrated by individual popes, did not deny the place of the papacy as an institution but instead awaited an "Angelic Pope," one who would reform the office and lead the church into a new age.[7]

In contrast, the Protestant identification of Antichrist with the

papacy and Catholicism in general is much more revolutionary. It represents a change in doctrine in which not merely some specific papal problem, but the papacy itself, is repudiated. As Hans Preuss points out, Luther attacked the teaching and beliefs, not just the life and actions, of the pope.[8] A similar shift is evident throughout most Protestant tracts of the early Reformation. In *The Image of Both Churches,* Bale insists that "in naming the pope we mean not his person, but the proud degree or abomination of the papacy"; similarly, John Foxe (1516–87) argues in his *Meditationes in Apocalypsin* that Antichrist is not one person against Christ, but doctrine against doctrine, faith against faith, church against church.[9] The Protestant interpretation of Antichrist, in other words, represents a change from damning an individual (a specific pope), who for particular reasons is like Antichrist, to condemning an institution (the papacy), which in its false doctrine teaches Antichrist's deceit. Finally, the attack is aimed at all Roman Catholics (the members of the false church), for they knowingly support Antichrist and his ministers. The moral censure of the papacy still continues in Reformation works, but to this censure is added attacks upon papal doctrine. For example, Thomas Becon (ca. 1512–67) divides *The Acts of Christ and of Antichrist* into two sections. The first section exposes the life of Antichrist by contrasting Christ's crown of thorns with Antichrist's "crowns of gold, richly set with precious stones," whereas the second section contrasts the doctrine of Christ and Antichrist. It attacks celibacy, purgatory, penance, pardons, and salvation by works, for instance, and concludes that in contrast to the doctrines of Christ that bring salvation, "Antichrist with his decrees bringeth to all his captives death and everlasting damnation."[10]

Many arguments against Catholic doctrine are integrated into the numerous Protestant commentaries on the Book of Revelation, which many reformers considered the key to understanding the past and to explaining the significance of contemporary events. Already in the later medieval commentaries the Apocalypse is interpreted as a systematic outline of church history, the opening of the seven seals, for example, representing historical

periods. But Protestant commentators further historicize the Apocalypse, reading it as a record of the conflict between the "true" ("spiritual," "hidden") church and the "false" ("fleshly," "institutional") church throughout history. According to this reading, Antichrist has been present in the church since the time of Christ. Thus explicating Apocalypse 13, Bale repudiates former interpretations of this key passage of the medieval Antichrist tradition:

> For we must consider that this revelation is in all points no story, specially here, as many writers have thought it to be, in supposing an antichrist to be born at the latter end of the world. But it is a mystery, comprehending in it but one general antichrist for all, which hath reigned in the church in a manner since the ascension of Christ. And in this one point are all the commentators that I have seen most foully deceived; yea, the best learned of them."[11]

Yet exegetes felt that in the past the power of Antichrist has varied in intensity. Since most early Protestants placed the millennium in the past rather than in the present or future, they recognized that for a period of approximately a thousand years the power of Satan and of Antichrist was restricted. The chaining of Satan may have taken place during the life of Christ and the founding of primitive Christianity or perhaps after the persecutions of the Roman emperors when Constantine adopted Christianity. Depending upon the interpretation followed, then, Satan was released sometime around the years 1000 or 1300, and Protestants were able to trace Antichrist's increasing blasphemies to the events of these years. For instance, Bale and the Geneva Bible gloss date the millennium between Christ's Ascension and the pontificate of Sylvester II (999–1003), whereas Foxe and John Napier (1550–1617) begin the millennium with Constantine (ca. 300), Napier identifying the release of Gog and Magog with the pontificate of Boniface VIII (1294–1303) and the rise of the Ottoman Turks.[12]

Furthermore, Protestants often interpreted the Reformation as fulfilling an apocalyptic role. To Bale the reforms in Germany and England represent the wounding of the beast's head (Apoc.

13:3); to Napier the earthquake (Apoc. 11:13) symbolizes the shaking of the papists in England and Scotland. Napier notes that the 1,260 days of Antichrist's rule—which he interprets as 1,260 years, following the standard Protestant formula that a prophetic day equals a year—begin around 300 and end around 1560, when the two witnesses (i.e., the Old and New Testaments) are resurrected with the teaching of the gospel.[13] Early Protestants felt that they were living on the verge of Doomsday, for the millennium was in the past, the two witnesses—oppressed for 1,260 years—had been resurrected, the beast had been wounded, and only the return of Christ remained in the future. This expectation of the imminent Second Advent led particularly to an increasing desire to determine the time of the end, an interest in manipulating the scriptural time prophecies that is evident, for example, in the commentary of Napier, the inventor of logarithms.[14] The apocalyptic expectations characteristic of the medieval Antichrist tradition continued into the early Reformation, as Protestants confidently identified the papacy as Antichrist and claimed prophetic justification for their break from Rome. The medieval tradition was otherwise quite changed, for the reformers rejected the belief that Antichrist was to come in the future and that he would be a single man whose life would in many details parody the life of Christ. Instead, Protestants developed a history of the papacy that proved to their satisfaction that the institution in general and individual popes in particular were in opposition to Christ. It has often been noted that the reformers, insisting upon *sola scriptura*, emphasized the literal interpretation of the Bible, rejecting involved allegory and legendary explanations. Yet once they had identified Antichrist as the papacy, the reformers were willing to manipulate their scriptural interpretations to develop a consistent pattern of condemnation of Catholic doctrine and the papacy throughout history.

Although reformers modified the medieval view, the traditional interpretation of Antichrist did not merely fade away in the sixteenth century. It remained influential in the sixteenth century, especially in the work of Roman Catholics who drew upon the tradition to refute the Protestant charges. Perhaps the

best example of a systematic setting forth of much of the medieval interpretations is the comprehensive work of Thomas Malvenda, *De Antichristo libri undecim* (1606), which repeatedly quotes the church fathers and doctors to support the Catholic interpretation. Although it too reflects the polemics of its time, as when it includes Luther in a list of heretics prefiguring Antichrist, it is essentially a scholarly study of the medieval Antichrist.[15] An earlier example of the continuing popularity of the medieval view is the *Byrthe and Lyfe of Antechryst* (ca. 1528), published by Wynkyn de Worde. It is a full *vita* of Antichrist in the tradition of Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo,* but includes many more details concerning Antichrist's childhood and develops legends not found in Adso, such as the release of Gog and Magog and the Fifteen Signs of Doomsday, a legend apparently of little interest to Protestants.[16]

The condemnations of the tradition found throughout Protestant tracts and commentaries also suggest the continuing influence of the medieval interpretation. In addition to John Jewel's ridicule of the "many sundry fond tales of the person of antichrist" (see introduction, page 8), Protestant attacks are included in Foxe's commentary on Revelation, which summarizes and refutes four basic Catholic arguments against the identification of Antichrist and the pope, and in *A Discovery of the Dangerous Rock of the Popish Church,* by William Fulke (1538–89). Fulke systematically disputes the Catholic view of Antichrist set forth by his opponent, Nicholas Sanders (ca. 1530–81). Sanders, arguing ten reasons why Antichrist cannot be the pope, repeatedly refers to the medieval tradition, but Fulke refutes each argument to prove that Antichrist is "a whole succession of men, in one state of devilish government."[17]

The following comparison of the medieval and Reformation conceptions of Antichrist will first briefly summarize the medieval tradition as set forth in this book, noting only some of the Renaissance accounts that continue to teach the tradition, and then present the Protestant view, citing its major arguments and representative sources. The discussion of the Protestant interpretation is not intended to be exhaustive, but merely to serve as

a contrast with the earlier interpretations and therefore as a further means of defining the medieval Antichrist. The comparison, which for the sake of brevity is heavily based on English Protestant writings, will concentrate on five major questions that best pinpoint the distinctions between the medieval and Reformation interpretations.

1. *Who is Antichrist?* According to the medieval tradition, Antichrist is a single man, a human leader of the forces of evil. It is true that he is prefigured throughout history in the lives of many evil individuals such as Antiochus Epiphanes, Simon Magus, and Nero, or more generally in the actions of the persecutors of early Christianity, the heretics, and the hypocrites; yet he is an individual human being, not a series of evil characters.[18] Protestants continue to identify types of Antichrist, but these types are understood as forerunners of the papacy and Catholicism. For example, Luther, commenting on Daniel 8:10, refers to Antiochus as "figura Papae," whereas Tyndale distinguishes between the successors of Simon Peter who preach the gospel (the reformers) and those of Simon Magus who are false prophets (the Franciscans and Dominicans).[19] According to the Protestant interpretation Antichrist may be a specific pope, the institution of the papacy, all Roman Catholics, or more generally, all, including Mohammedans, who persecute the true Christian church.

These identifications vary from author to author and are often based upon conflicting treatments of Apocalyptic imagery. Bale's interpretation of the seven-headed beast that rises out of the sea (Apoc. 13:1) as Antichrist and the two-horned beast (Apoc. 13:11) as "all false prophets and ungodly preachers . . ." follows standard medieval exegesis, although his explanation that the "one universal antichrist" represents "so well Mahomet as the pope, so well the raging tyrant as the still hypocrite" reflects his Protestant bias.[20] More typical of Reformation exegesis, however, is the Geneva Bible gloss identifying the seven-headed beast with pagan Rome and the two-horned beast with Antichrist, whose two horns symbolize the pope's religious and temporal power. Some exegetes argue that the two horns represent

Antichrist's tyranny (evident in the Turk) and hypocrisy (evident in the pope), although Foxe questions identifications of Antichrist with the Turks.[21] This distinction between the two enemies of the church—the papacy and Mohammedanism—is more typically evident in interpretations of Gog and Magog. Napier explains, for example, that Gog signifies a "covered" enemy of God—that is, the hypocrisy of the pope—whereas Magog signifies a "discovered" enemy of God—that is, the open hostility of the Mohammedans.[22] Naturally, Protestant interpretations did not remain static but changed as the fortunes of the Reformation varied through the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Nevertheless, whichever way the specific apocalyptic symbols are interpreted—whether to include pagan as well as papal Rome, Islam as well as the false Christian church—the reformers consistently identified Antichrist with the pope.[23]

The interpretations of the number of the beast, 666, represent an interesting example of how the medieval tradition continued to be influential into the sixteenth century, even while Protestants manipulated it to label the papacy as Antichrist. To early Christian and medieval exegetes, the meaning of the number was a mystery. Although most agreed that it somehow revealed the names of Antichrist, commentators following Irenaeus provided general rather than specific interpretations. These names—e.g., Lateinos, Teitan, DicLux—did not identify specific individuals or institutions; instead, they suggested certain characteristics of Antichrist.[24] Protestant exegetes, reviewing the various Hebrew, Greek, and Latin names of Antichrist, continued to discuss their significance. But to many Protestants, "Lateinos" seemed the most fitting name because, as the Geneva Bible gloss points out, it signifies that Antichrist will use Latin and reside in Italy. The other medieval names of Antichrist are applied by Protestants specifically to the papacy and to the titles of the pope, including the title most repugnant to Protestants, "Vicarius generalis Dei in terris."[25]

2. *When does Antichrist appear?* The answer to the second question naturally is dependent upon the answer to the first. The medieval conception of Antichrist as a specific man means that

he is expected to appear at a specific time in the future. Although no one can be certain when Antichrist will come, he will be preceded by various signs in the natural world, by an increasing wickedness within the church, and by the breakdown of Roman power. According to some sibylline expectations, Antichrist will come only after the Last World Emperor gives up his crown in Jerusalem. This important medieval legend continued to be a part of the tradition in the Renaissance. The *Byrthe and Lyfe of Antechryst* explains, for example, that before Antichrist appears, "There shall come a kynge of Romayne that shall take his waye to Jherusalem, and there he shall dwell a weke and an halfe of tyme, that is x. yeres and an halfe takyng for the vii. dayes a yere, etc. And whan the x. yeres ben at an ende shall come forthe the chylde of perdycyon, which is Antechryste."[26] The expectation that Antichrist would be a single human to rule in the future, perhaps in the imminent future, also led medieval exegetes to expect his rule to be short, for Christ promised that God would make the time of trial brief (Matt. 24:22). The scriptural references to 1,260 days and 42 months (Apoc. 11:2–3) mean that Antichrist will rule for only three and one half years before he is destroyed and Christ appears in judgment.

In contrast, the Protestant identification of Antichrist as the papacy means that, as evident in the decline of the primitive church and the rise of the papacy, Antichrist has already appeared. Protestants especially identified the rise of Antichrist with the claims of Boniface III (607) to be the one universal head of the church and with the decision of the Byzantine Emperor Phocas to give supreme authority to the pope. Thus Fulke, disputing Sanders' argument that the pope cannot be Antichrist because he does not appear before the breakdown of Rome, cites the fall of the empire (pagan Rome) "before Antichrist the Pope was thoroughly installed." Fulke also tells how Gregory the Great, when hearing the claims of John IV "the Faster" (582–95) to be the "ecumenical patriarch," predicted that Antichrist was at hand. When shortly afterwards Boniface III accepted the title as supreme pontif, Fulke continues, he fulfilled Gregory's prediction. Ironically, Fulke and other Protes-

tants quote Gregory to prove "that the Pope is Antichrist."[27] To the reformers, therefore, Antichrist has always been evident in the church, especially gaining power in the seventh century. Furthermore, since the close of the millennium (ca. 1000–1300), Antichrist has been at the peak of his power.

Protestants thus rejected the medieval notion that Antichrist would rule for only three and a half years. Once again relying on interpretations of the number of the beast, some commentators even suggested that in addition to identifying Antichrist as the papacy, the 666 could be understood in a temporal sense as a means to date the rule of Antichrist. The Geneva Bible gloss explains that "for about 666 yeres after this revelation [the writing of the Apocalypse] the Pope or Antichrist began to be manifest in the worlde," whereas Bale believes that the 666 marks the duration of the beast's rule.[28] The tyranny and hypocrisy of Antichrist, then, can be traced throughout the history of the papacy. Yet Protestants did not give up the sense of urgency that in the Middle Ages accompanied the expectation of Antichrist. Although he has been present always, it is only recently—with the spread of the gospel and the teachings of the reformers—that Antichrist has been "revealed." In an early Reformation tract, Tyndale played on the medieval contrast between Christian and Jew, Christ and Antichrist, to suggest the lack of spiritual recognition of Christians in the past: "The Jews look for Christ, and he is come fifteen hundred years ago, and they are not aware: we also have looked for Antichrist, and he hath reigned as long, and we not aware."[29] Once Antichrist has been correctly identified and challenged, the Second Advent of Christ is imminent.

3. *What is the nature of Antichrist and of his rule?* Since in the Middle Ages Antichrist was considered to be a man, medieval writers developed a comprehensive biography dependent in its structure and in many of its details upon a parody of Christ's life (see chapter 3). Although the *vita* of Antichrist varies from author to author, it became very popular and remained influential into the sixteenth century.[30] In general, Antichrist was expected to be a man, born of a whore or some other evil woman, of Jewish parentage from the tribe of Dan, in Babylon or elsewhere in

the Middle East. From his birth on and throughout his life, he will be possessed by the devil, who instructs him when young and who provides him with his powers of deception and wonder making. Antichrist will enter Jerusalem, circumcise himself, rebuild the temple, and convert the Jews. He will gain both political and religious power, overcoming kings who oppose him and conquering Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia. He will send out false prophets, destroy belief in Jesus as the Son of God, and institute a new law. He will successfully convert many Christians by working false miracles, whereas others will join his forces when offered gifts and power. He will then claim to be Christ, sit in the temple and demand to be worshipped as God, and imitate events from Christ's ministry, including the raising of the dead, his death and resurrection, and the bringing down of the "spirit" from heaven. He will also persecute those faithful who stand against him and kill the prophets Enoch and Elias when they challenge him. He finally will be destroyed as he tries to rise to heaven from the Mount of Olives.

The reformers reject not only the general notion that Antichrist has a "life" but also most of the specific details of the medieval tradition. For example, Fulke, demanding a more literal interpretation of scripture, argues against the Catholic view that Antichrist will be born a Jew from the tribe of Dan.[31] Protestant controversialists replace the life of Antichrist with the history of the papacy. Nevertheless, since their interpretations of Antichrist are based upon the same apocalyptic texts significant in the Middle Ages, the general characteristics of Antichrist that Protestants believe are reflected in the papacy often parallel the more specific details of the medieval tradition. For example, to Protestants Antichrist is not a man possessed since birth by the devil but an institution begun by the devil. Thus Luther insists that the pope comes from the devil and that the "Church of the Pope is the Synagogue of Satan."[32] Although reformers reject the notion that Antichrist will conquer the three African nations (some commentators note that these expectations properly refer to the conquests of pagan, not papal, Rome), most explain that Antichrist's political powers are evident in the pope's political

and military maneuverings.[33] Furthermore, Antichrist's false prophets represent the wide variety of Catholic false teachers, which include the monastic and fraternal orders and, to Luther, even the universities. Many commentaries, for example, identify the evil spirits resembling frogs that come forth from the mouths of the dragon, seven-headed beast, and false prophet (Apoc. 16:13) with papal supporters. To cite one typically abusive interpretation, that of the Geneva Bible gloss, the evil spirits are "a strong number of this great devill the Popes ambassadours which are ever crying and croking like frogges and come out of Antichrists mouth. . . ."[34] The reformers also contend that the Catholic belief in the saints and in pardons denies the saving power of Christ, and that the belief in works and reliance upon tradition, in contrast to Protestant insistence upon faith and *sola scriptura*, represent Antichrist's denial of Christ's law and his institution of a "new law." Moreover, the false miracles of Antichrist, warned against by Paul (2 Thess. 2:9) and contrived by Catholics to control the ignorant, are evident to Protestants in the medieval legends, the worship of saints, papal ceremonies, and especially in the mass, a false miracle presided over by a devilish miracle worker, the priest.[35] Antichrist's claim to be divine also parallels the pope's claim to be infallible and to be the head of the church, claims that the reformers interpreted as the "abomination of desolation" (Matt. 24:15), for they argued that only Christ is the head of his church. Finally, Antichrist's persecution of the faithful is evident in past papal history in the Albigensian crusade, the excommunication of reformers, and the burning of heretics, and in the present in the inquisition and harassment of Protestants.[36] Thus many of the characteristics that the medieval tradition applied to a human Antichrist were in Protestant interpretations applied to the papacy.

4. *Who are Antichrist's supporters and opponents?* In a general sense, the medieval and Reformation views of Antichrist agree in their answers to the fourth question—all those who persecute or otherwise undermine the true Christian church are Antichrist's supporters, and all those who remain faithful under persecution and who preach the truth are Antichrist's opponents.

Since Protestants and Catholics differ in their definitions of the true church, however, in specifics their identifications of Antichrist's supporters and opponents differ radically. For example, even though medieval commentators repeatedly emphasize that many Christians will be misled by Antichrist and that kings and political leaders will be among Antichrist's first converts, in the Middle Ages the most important supporters of Antichrist are the Jews. Having rejected Jesus as Christ, they are easily deceived by Antichrist.[37] Thus the medieval *vitae* emphasize Antichrist's Jewish origins, his circumcision, and his rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem. In contrast, Protestant commentaries seldom mention the Jews as supporters of Antichrist. They often argue, in fact, against Catholic apologists who point out that the pope is not Jewish and that he does not have Jewish support as proof that he cannot be Antichrist. Fulke, for example, scorns Sanders' citing of John 5:43—one of the key texts of the medieval tradition—as proof that since the Jews rejected Jesus they will accept Antichrist. Preferring once again a more literal approach to scripture, Fulke refutes Sanders' exegesis.[38] Instead, Protestant controversialists usually describe the various orders and members of the Catholic church as the supporters of Antichrist. These supporters are often listed in long polemical attacks in explanations of the locust beasts (Apoc. 9:3–11) or the beast that rises from the abyss to kill the two witnesses (Apoc. 11:7). During the Marian persecutions in England Mary and other political powers were considered supporters of Antichrist.[39]

Similarly, the medieval and Reformation identifications of those who oppose Antichrist differ in specifics. In the medieval view, Enoch and Elias, the two Old Testament figures who have not died, return from the Earthly Paradise where they have been awaiting Antichrist and preach against him, warn Christians of his deceits, and convert the Jews to Christianity. As outlined in interpretations of Apocalypse 11, Antichrist, enraged by their opposition, will kill them. Yet after lying in the streets of the city called Sodom or Egypt (Apoc. 11:8) for three and one-half days, they will be resurrected and ascend to heaven.[40] The

reformers, however, particularly ridicule the expectation that Enoch and Elias will return in the flesh. The "bilious" Bale once again attacks the medieval interpretation: "The school-doctors with their sophistry have fantasied the said two witnesses to be Enoch and Elias, and that they should come then from paradise terrestrial for the same purpose, because that Enoch was taken away of God, and Elias was carried hence in a fiery chariot; neither understanding what paradise is, nor yet knowing what it is to be taken from hence."[41] Most Protestant exegetes emphasize that the "spirit" of Elias was present in John the Baptist (Matt. 11:14), that the same "spirit" is now present in the last days in the teaching of scripture, and that it is dangerous to expect the physical return of Enoch and Elias. According to Luther and others, the two witnesses represent not specific individuals but all those who through the perilous reign of Antichrist have preached the Old and New Testament in opposition to papal doctrine and superstition.[42] The beast from the abyss represents the papacy, the city called Egypt or Sodom is Rome, and the resurrection of the two witnesses symbolizes the work of the reformers. True to form, the martyrologist Foxe, after denying that the witnesses are Enoch and Elias, interrupts his commentary on Revelation 11 to list reformers from Wyclif to Luther, Melanchthon, and Zwingli, to develop a detailed history of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and to identify various martyrs oppressed by Antichrist.[43] These are the true two witnesses. Once the papacy is identified as Antichrist, therefore, Protestants could quite easily discover the identity of the witnesses—they are the heroes of the Reformation.

5. *How is Antichrist destroyed?* In the medieval interpretation Antichrist is considered to be an all-powerful human who, although opposed by the faithful and some righteous kings, cannot be defeated by any human power. Exegetes particularly refer to Paul's promise (2 Thess. 2:8) that Christ "with the spirit of his mouth" will destroy Antichrist. This destruction will take place when Antichrist, in his final parody of Christ, attempts to rise to heaven from the Mount of Olives. Christ's Second Advent

will follow either immediately or, since some expect that after Antichrist's defeat the deceived Christians will repent and the Jews will turn to Christianity, after a short time. Furthermore, the Fifteen Signs of Doomsday, popular in medieval legend, are usually understood to take place between Antichrist's death and the Last Judgment. Thus many commentators interpret the "spirit" to be Michael or some other supernatural agent of Christ.[44] Although in the later Middle Ages polemicists argue that political action could oppose and even defeat Antichrist, the traditional medieval understanding is that he can be defeated only by Christ or his divinely appointed agent.

Protestant commentators likewise expect Christ to destroy Antichrist. Tyndale, who describes Antichrist as "a spiritual thing" whose malice can be detected working against the Old Testament prophets and the New Testament apostles, concludes that "Antichrist is now, and shall (I doubt not) endure till the world's end."[45] But although Tyndale and others are pessimistic concerning the total destruction of Antichrist, Protestants in general allow a greater role for human action in defeating Antichrist. Since he is in reality an institution, not an all-powerful man, he may be gradually opposed, undermined, and destroyed. Kings could set their nations against the papacy, driving out the papists and even, as many seventeenth-century Protestants urged, defeating Catholic nations in military action. But Foxe is more typical of the early reformers when he lists three ways in which Antichrist can be defeated—by being "revealed," by the "spirit" of Christ's mouth, and by Christ at the Second Advent.[46] The first two of these means can be accomplished by men. To many sixteenth-century writers, the "revealing" of Antichrist began with the early opponents of the papacy (Wyclif, Huss) and was accomplished finally by Luther and other reformers. With the Reformation no longer was there any excuse for Christians to be misled by Antichrist, whose power was under attack throughout Europe. Jewel, commenting on the Pauline text, describes how Antichrist has been "opened by little and little," so that "his tyranny and treachery is now revealed, and

therefore not regarded." As a result, Christians no longer believe in pardons, purgatory, and other Catholic doctrines, and the pope's power diminishes:

> The pope stirreth and striveth at this day all that he can. He excommunicateth and curseth: he sendeth out his bulls: he bloweth up seditions: he breedeth treasons: he raiseth subjects against their princes: he setteth princes upon their subjects: he imprisoneth and murdereth the saints of God: he shaketh and inflameth the whole world in his quarrels. But all in vain. Why so? how cometh this to pass? There is no counsel, no wisdom, no fire, no sword that shall prevail against the Lord. The man of sin and his errors are revealed. Men see and know and detest the blindness wherein they were led: the people forsake him over and over the world.[47]

The second means by which Antichrist can be defeated, by the "spirit" of Christ's mouth, is understood by Protestants to represent the power of gospel preaching. Tyndale explains that the "spirit" is the word of God, and that it is for this reason that God's word is hateful to the papacy, "for it is impossible to preach Christ, except thou preach against antichrist. . . ."[48] Thus the Protestant emphasis upon scripture and preaching has eschatological support. Christ stated that before his Second Advent the gospel would be preached throughout the world (Matt. 24:14), and the reformers, playing the role of the two witnesses in the last days, now preach the gospel and fight against Antichrist. Yet Antichrist is not destroyed completely—the pope still rules in Rome and Catholics remain deceived. The final destruction will take place only at the Second Advent. The medieval notion that a short time for repentance passes between Antichrist's death and Doomsday, therefore, in Reformation belief finds its counterpart in the time between the "revealing" of Antichrist by the work of the "spirit" and the Second Advent, when he will be finally destroyed. This time allows the reformers to convert Christians misled in the past to the true church and to bring the Jews to Christianity. It is, however, only a short time. It is marked not by the Fifteen Signs, but by the wars and turmoils prophesied by Christ (Matt. 24:7), an increasing wickedness in the world, and the raging of Antichrist. According to Luther,

the attacks of the Turks, the immoralities of the "epicureans" who live as those in the days of Noah (Matt. 24:37–39), and the heresies of the Anabaptists also are signs of the end.[49] These contradictory perceptions of the times—the simultaneous growth of truth reflected in gospel preaching and opposition to the papacy, and of wickedness reflected in wars, immorality, and heresy—led Protestants to confidently believe that Christ's Second Advent was imminent.

Antichrist in Renaissance Art and Literature

Although it is not possible in the conclusion of a book on the medieval Antichrist to discuss Renaissance art and literature in any detail, the extent to which they reflected both the continuing influence of the medieval tradition and the growing polemics of the Reformation must be recognized as having been considerable. For instance, the great interest in Apocalypse illustration evident in the Anglo-Norman illuminated manuscripts and in the block book Apocalpyses of the fifteenth century continued in the sixteenth century. Two pre-Reformation developments influenced the sixteenth-century illustrations: the introduction of printed Bibles and the creative genius of Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). The design and emphasis of the printed Bibles led to a reduction in the number of illustrations, the scriptural text now gaining pre-eminence. The second edition of the Low-German Cologne Bible (Henrich Quentell, 1479), for example, contains only fifteen illustrations for the entire New Testament. Nevertheless, the medieval emphasis remains, for of these fifteen, nine illustrate the Apocalypse, although these nine represent a tremendous reduction in number from the ninety and more illustrations often included in the medieval Apocalypses. As a result, the printed Bibles usually combine several incidents described in the text into one picture. The treatment of Apocalypse 11, which is one of the most important chapters for medieval illustrations, is particularly instructive. Rather than the four scenes common in the Anglo-Norman Apocalypses, the Cologne Bible and the High-German Bible of Johann Reinhard de

Grüningen (Strassburg, 1485) conflate the several events of the story surrounding the two witnesses and combine them with the description in the following chapter of the woman harassed by the dragon.[50] Each Bible, in a loosely organized illustration, portrays the measuring of the temple, the preaching of the witnesses, their confrontation with the beast, martyrdom, and rise to heaven, the two candlesticks, and the earthquake. In addition, each illustration includes the seven-headed dragon that pulls stars from heaven and attacks the woman robed in the sun and standing on the moon (Apoc. 12:1). A similar conflation characterizes the illustrations of Apocalypse 13.

Dürer, who has been called "the creative force that finally carried Apocalypse illustration from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance," also conflates several scenes from the text into his fifteen illustrations.[51] In composition, however, his woodcuts (1498) are more clearly focused and avoid the rather schematized treatment of the fifteenth-century Bibles. His representations of the apocalyptic symbols, which greatly influenced later artists, are literal and naturalistic. They neither enlarge upon the scriptural texts nor identify the significance of the beasts, for example, with inscriptions or other interpretative devices.

Dürer did not illustrate Apocalypse 11. But when Lucas Cranach (1472–1553) created twenty-one illustrations for the first edition of Luther's New Testament, the "September Bible" (Melchior Lotther, 1522), he illustrated this key chapter. Heavily indebted to Dürer, Cranach also treats the symbols literally, portraying the beast that rises from the abyss as a monstrous creature rather than as a man, as it is represented in medieval illustrations. Although closely following the biblical text, Cranach's illustration of Apocalypse 11 reflects in some details Reformation interpretations.[52] The two witnesses, for example, are dressed as contemporary German university professors, perhaps representing Luther and his followers, for Cranach was a friend of Luther and deeply involved in the Protestant cause. The illustration emphasizes in the background the measuring of the temple and minimizes any possible association of the witnesses with the medieval Enoch and Elias legend, for it does not

portray their death or resurrection. More significantly, the beast wears a papal tiara, thus identifying it with the papacy. Similarly, the single beast from whose mouth come evil spirits resembling frogs (Apoc. 16:13)—identified by Protestants as the papacy and its false prophets—wears a papal crown, as does the whore of Babylon. Cranach also portrays the two-horned beast (Apoc. 13:11) wearing monastic garb.

Although the second edition of Luther's New Testament (1522, the "December Bible") reduces the triple crown to a single crown, the woodcut illustrations for Luther's first complete Bible (Hans Lufft, 1534) once again portray the beasts and the whore wearing the papal crown. Other editions of the Luther Bible continue to reflect this Protestant bias. For example, the woodcuts by Hans Holbein the Younger (ca. 1497–1543) for the Basel edition of Luther's New Testament (1523) once again make use of the papal tiara. The polemical manipulation of apocalyptic symbolism may also account for the fact that Bibles apparently intended for Catholic use and including the same illustrations as in Protestant Bibles omit the papal crown on the beasts and whore.[53] The use of the crown to condemn the papacy resembles in purpose and effect the glosses of the Geneva Bible. Although Protestants emphasized literal readings of scripture, they were not adverse to directing the reader to their particular interpretation. The Apocalypse illustrations must have been particularly repugnant to Catholics on the one hand, and must have greatly influenced the growth of anti-Catholicism among Protestants on the other hand. During the sixteenth century the arts became significant tools for propaganda, and Apocalypse illustrations reflect the polemics of the time. Even Jean Duvet's twenty-three engravings of the Apocalypse (1555), which share Dürer's genius, represent the pope and other Catholic figures being punished in hell (Apoc. 9) and a bishop emitting frogs from his mouth (Apoc. 16).[54]

These illustrations conflating numerous scenes and reflecting Protestant exegesis obviously drop the life of Antichrist so often portrayed in the medieval illuminated Apocalypses, developed in such picture books as the Velislav Bible and treated indepen-

dently in the block book *vitae* of Antichrist (see chapter 4). Although no longer included in sixteenth-century Bibles, the *vita* is illustrated in Renaissance works not influenced by the Reformation. The printed books of Wynkyn de Worde portray Antichrist's life in two editions of his *Arte to Lyue Well* (1505–1506) and especially in his *Byrthe and Lyfe of Antechryst* (ca. 1528).[55] This later book includes twenty-one woodcuts illustrating Antichrist from his devilish conception to his final destination in hell's mouth. The medieval legends of Enoch and Elias, Gog and Magog, the Last World Emperor, and the Fifteen Signs of Doomsday are also illustrated, as are the short time following Antichrist's death and the Last Judgment. In scope and in some iconographic details, the woodcuts resemble those of the German and Dutch block book *vitae,* but the English work is more selective, including, for example, only one picture of Antichrist preaching and one for the Fifteen Signs. The *Byrthe and Lyfe,* nevertheless, represents the continuing influence of the medieval tradition on the art of the printed book.

The Antichrist legend is also illustrated in an earlier book, Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum,* the so-called "Nuremberg Chronicle" published by Anton Koberger in 1493. The chronicle follows the tradition of outlining the ages of the world and identifies the sixth age as spanning from Christ "usque ad tempora antichristi: aut ad consumationem seculi."[56] It includes a short chapter, "De Antichristo," that details the role of Enoch and Elias, Antichrist's three-and-one-half-year persecution, false miracles, bribes, and death when attempting to rise from the Mount of Olives, and the forty-five days for repentance to follow. Lavishly illustrated with woodcuts by Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, the chronicle combines many features of the tradition in one illustration placed at the beginning of its discussion of the seventh age. The woodcut emphasizes the fall of Antichrist from the heavens by showing him held in midair by three grotesque devils while above him an angel, identified in the text as Michael, prepares to swing a sword over his head. The Mount of Olives from which Antichrist has recently risen is portrayed in the lower background. The foreground

shows a large group of men and women, some in discussion among themselves, others listening to Antichrist or to Enoch and Elias. On the left stands Antichrist, richly dressed, preaching, and inspired by a two-horned devil. In contrast, on the right the two witnesses preach behind a pulpit. The composition of the woodcut thus effectively emphasizes the opposition between the prophet of Satan and the prophets of God, between Antichrist's deceit and ultimate punishment and the promises of salvation taught by Enoch and Elias.

A more complex and sophisticated Renaissance treatment of the medieval Antichrist tradition is Luca Signorelli's "Fatti dell' Anticristo." The fresco is part of the artist's eschatological cycle in Orvieto Cathedral (1499–1500), representing the last days, the general resurrection, hell, and paradise.[57] In one unified composition, Signorelli portrays numerous details of the medieval tradition in a contemporary Renaissance setting that includes a self-portrait, portraits of Fra Angelico, Dante, and other Florentines, and a classical central-plan church. Attention first centers in the foreground on Antichrist, who is represented as a bearded man resembling Christ. Surrounded by a large crowd, he stands preaching on a pedestal while advised from behind by a devil. The painting suggests other ways by which Antichrist gains power, for below him lies a collection of gifts and to the left a man is bribed and others are killed. In the center, a group of converts watches while Antichrist resurrects the dead. The legend of Enoch and Elias, again made contemporary, is also included, for behind and to the right of Antichrist stands a group listening to the instruction of friars, who may represent the two witnesses.[58] Further to the right and in the background near the steps of the church, the witnesses are executed. Finally, on the left, Signorelli paints the destruction of Antichrist. An angel, the agent of Christ, hovers in the sky, unleashing the heavenly wrath (the "spirit") upon the deceiver and his followers. Antichrist, as often shown in medieval illustrations (see figure 11) and in the *Liber chronicarum*, has attempted to rise to heaven and is now sent hurling head down to his death.

Since the reformers denied that Antichrist was a single man

but identified him as an institution, Protestant art does not portray such scenes from the life of Antichrist as found in the *Byrthe and Lyfe* and Signorelli's fresco. Instead, in a fashion resembling the polemical attacks of Protestant commentaries and tracts, artists sought to illustrate the various ways in which the papacy, either historically or in present practice, can be identified with Antichrist. The numerous single-leaf woodcuts popular during the sixteenth century include some particularly grotesque portrayals of the papacy and Roman Catholicism. For example, the woodcut titled "Origo et ortus Antichristi, id est, Romani episcopi" (ca. 1564), from the workshop of Lucas Cranach the Younger, shows two devils breathing their "spirit" into the mouth of a fat, naked Antichrist who wears a papal crown, while a companion woodcut, the "De Ortu et origine monachorum," shows a devil defecating monks. Other single-leaf woodcuts picture the pope as the bad thief crucified with Christ, or emphasize how Catholicism, the church of Antichrist, is in conflict with Lutheranism, the church of Christ.[59] But perhaps the best example of Protestant polemical attacks upon the papacy is Cranach's *Passional Christi und Antichristi* (1521), a series of thirteen pairs of facing-page woodcuts with an explanatory text by Melanchton.[60] In purpose, the *Passional* resembles the first part of Thomas Becon's *Acts of Christ and Antichrist* (see above, page 207), for it attacks what the reformers considered to be the immorality and worldliness of the papacy. Thus the pope's temporal power is contrasted to Christ's rejection of the world. In the first pair of facing woodcuts, Christ is shown rejecting a crown, whereas the pope gathers his military forces for battle. The second pair contrasts the beaten Christ wearing a crown of thorns with the pope crowned with the tiara, and the third pair shows Christ washing the feet of an apostle in contrast to kings kissing the pope's feet. Similar contrasts are drawn throughout the *Passional* between Christ's humble ministry and the pope's extravagant rule. The pope especially is shown hoarding riches and living in luxury. The fourth set of woodcuts, for example, portrays Christ directing Peter to find a coin in the mouth of a fish (Matt. 17:27), whereas the pope sits in splendor collecting moneys. Similarly,

the twelfth pair contrasts Christ as he drives the money changers from the temple (Matt. 21:12–13) with the pope, enthroned before a table covered with money. These woodcuts identify the papacy as Antichrist in opposition to Christ by depicting familiar events from Christ's life and then showing how in all respects the splendor of the popes repudiates Christ's example. The contrast is emphasized finally in the thirteenth pair of woodcuts that, on the one hand, show Christ ascending to heaven, and on the other hand, show demons carrying the pope to the fires of hell. Although Cranach's *Passional* in no respect resembles the medieval illustrated *vitae,* it does agree with the medieval tradition that Antichrist's final destination is hell.

The art of the sixteenth century thus reflects the contrast between the Catholic and Protestant interpretations of Antichrist. Rejecting the notion that Antichrist is a man to appear in the future and the medieval legends surrounding Antichrist's life, Protestant artists sought to identify Antichrist with the papacy. A similar concern typifies the treatment of Antichrist in Protestant literature. Numerous poems and plays offhandedly refer to Antichrist and to Antichrists, assuming that the identity is clear. Other works underscore the identification. For example, when Bale's *King Johan* (ca. 1539) portrays Sedition and Dissimulation discussing their parentage, Sedition notes that Antichrist is "the great pope of Rome or fyrst veyne popysh prist."[61] Later, King John, who was given heroic status by early English Protestants, warns (lines 2,079–81):

> the pope and hys priestes are poyseners of all landes.
> All Christen people be ware of trayterouse pristes,
> For of truthe they are the pernicyouse Antichristes.

Bale's attack upon the papacy and his initial faith in English royal opposition to Catholicism is evident once again in his later epilogue for the play, written after Elizabeth's ascension. He now prays for the English to overcome Antichrist and praises the new queen for having "subdued the Papistes,/ With all the ofsprynge of Antichristes generacyon" (lines 2,679–80).

Bale and others clearly realized the propaganda value of drama, and at least one of his contemporaries urged Henry VIII to institute processions, plays, and other celebrations aimed against the pope. The anonymous author of *A Discourse Touching the Reformation of the Lawes of England* (ca. 1538) argued that, rather than allowing the people to watch the plays of Robin Hood, other plays should be "dyvysed to set forthe and declare lyvely before the peoples eies the abhomynation and wickednes of the bisshop of Rome, monkes, ffreers, nonnes, and suche like. . . ."[62] Such polemical drama was popular in Henry's reign and continued to be influential after Mary's death. Nathaniel Woodes' *Conflict of Conscience* (1581), for example, has Satan refer to the pope as "my darlyng deare,/My eldes boy, in whom I doo delight," a parodic blessing from Satan the father upon Antichrist the son. Similarly, Barnabe Barnes, in *The Devil's Charter* (1607), presses the Protestant argument that the papacy has devilish origins by staging the legend that Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) sold his soul in return for the devil's support. On the continent, the Calvinist *Comedie du Pape Malade* (1561), by Conrad Badius (ca. 1523–62), is a particularly comic attack on the papacy.[63] In a farcical manner it stages the Protestant belief that the Reformation has begun the destruction of Antichrist. For example, it shows the pope, identified as Antichrist and as the son of Beelzebub, complaining to Satan that Luther and the other reformers have brought on his fatal illness.

Two works by continental Protestants, both composed in Latin and translated into English in the 1540s, especially emphasize the belief that the reformers have begun the downfall of the papacy. *Pammachius* (1538), by the German controversialist Thomas Kirchmeyer (1511–63), has been called "the representative drama of the Reformation era; for nowhere had so elaborate an attempt been made to give the Reformation its 'place in history'. . . ."[64] Beginning in heaven with Christ's warning to the apostles Peter and Paul that Pope Pammachius is a deceiver, it stages Pammachius' hellish meeting with Satan, who decides to support the pope's power plays against the Emperor Julian in order to disrupt the church. The result is that Pammachius gains su-

preme power, institutes new laws, claims infallibility, humiliates the emperor, and makes Veritas an exile from earth. But Christ sends Veritas to Saxony to the reformer Theophilus (Luther), who stirs up a revolt in Wittenberg against the pope. After Pammachius decides to destroy the reformers, the play ends with an unwritten fifth act, but with the promise of Christ's Second Coming. *Pammachius* thus draws upon the apocalyptic expectations of the sixteenth century to emphasize the Protestant belief that, although the Reformation has wounded the papacy, only Christ can bring the final downfall of the papal Antichrist.

Another example of Protestant faith in the Reformation is the *Tragedie or Dialogue of the Unjust Usurped Primacie of the Bishop of Rome* (1549), a series of nine dialogues by the Italian reformer Bernardino Ochino of Siena (1487–1564), who taught Protestant doctrine in Venice, Geneva, London, Zurich, and Cracow. The *Dialogue,* composed while Ochino was in England, especially emphasizes the significant role of the English monarchy and reformers. For example, the eighth dialogue is a debate between Henry VIII, Thomas Cranmer, and Papista. In a long theological exposition, Cranmer proves to Henry's satisfaction that the pope is Antichrist. When Papista warns Henry that if he opposes the pope he will lose the title "Defender of the Faith," the king answers that "we will be called the destroyers of the false faith of Antichrist, and maintainers of the true faith of Christ."[65] The concluding dialogue then follows, in which Edward VI promises to "pluck up by the roots and utterly banish out of our kingdom the name of Antichrist" (page 244). Interestingly, Edward notes that the best way to defeat Antichrist, to drive him from the people, is not by force but through the word of God. Ochino, following the Protestant explication of 2 Thessalonians 2:8, emphasizes that scripture is the "spirit" that destroys Antichrist, for it is "the spiritual sword by whose edge (as Paul prophesied) he must be slain" (page 248).

These Protestant plays are concerned primarily with identifying the pope as Antichrist and in teaching Protestant doctrine. They take no interest in the life of Antichrist that is staged in the medieval plays (see chapter 5). In fact, it makes little sense to

describe a play such as Bale's *King Johan* as Antichrist drama, since its main purpose is to damn the papacy and to praise the English monarchy, King John being portrayed as both a forerunner of, and example for, Henry VIII. The play does not allude to the tradition or even stage a character named "Antichrist." Hardin Craig's argument that, because *King Johan* resembles Thomas Kirchmeyer's *Pammachius,* it is "therefore an Antichrist play, and therefore a lineal descendant of a mystery play . . ." is very misleading, for neither *King Johan* nor *Pammachius* has its roots in the medieval Antichrist drama, but in Reformation interpretations of church history.[66] These interpretations particularly condemn papal claims to have temporal power and praise the Reformation's break with the papacy. Thus *King Johan* stages the conflict between the English king and the pope as representative of papal aspirations and as prefiguring the later English rejection of papal dominance, *Pammachius* concentrates on the pope's subjugation of Emperor Julian and on the significance of Luther, and Ochino's *Dialogue* at first treats the duping of Emperor Phocas by Boniface III and then the "revealing" of Antichrist by Henry VIII, Cranmer, and Edward VI.

In contrast to these Reformation works that emphasize the identification of the papal Antichrist in past historical events, the Renaissance plays that develop the medieval tradition are set in the present or the near future. They emphasize Antichrist's life and his deceit, setting his ministry into contemporary situations. These plays include two impressive products of the Spanish golden age, the *El Antichristo* of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (ca. 1581–1639) and another *El Antichristo,* possibly by Lope de Vega (1562–1635).[67] In their sophistication and imaginative treatment of Antichrist, they resemble other Renaissance works, such as the scholarship of Malvenda and the frescoes of Signorelli. These and other products of the Renaissance reflect the vitality of the medieval tradition among Catholics even while it is being attacked by Protestants. Perhaps the best example of a contemporary play with strong medieval roots, however, is the *Mystère de l'Antéchrist et du Jugement de Dieu* staged at Modane in 1580 and again in 1606.[68] A massive and very complex play with elaborate

settings and calling for hundreds of actors, the Modane *Antéchrist* was staged over three days. It begins, as does the *Jour du Jugement* (ca. 1330), with a council of devils that determines to find a Babylonian whore who can give birth to Antichrist. The whore here thus represents not a symbol of the papacy but the physical mother of a human Antichrist. After his birth and instruction by devils, Antichrist gains power with the release of Gog and Magog, the defeat of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya, and the preaching of his several false prophets. Through bribes, false miracles, and the persecution of the righteous, he further consolidates his power. After he rebuilds the temple, the signs of the end appear. Enoch and Elias, who have been preaching against him, are executed, but after three days are resurrected. Antichrist then attempts to ascend to heaven, but is struck down by Michael and carted off to hell. Those misled by Antichrist now return to Christianity, a messenger announces the Last Judgment, and the audience is urged to remain faithful under temptation. The play ends when the seven vices and seven virtues, representing the damned and the saved, are led to their respective rewards.

The Modane play thus develops in great detail almost all features of the medieval tradition. Yet it makes Antichrist a contemporary sixteenth-century character. Alluding to the polemics of the time, it turns the tables on the reformers and characterizes Antichrist as a Protestant who attacks the cult of saints, the belief in the sacraments and purgatory, and the Catholic orders. Nevertheless, in contrast to such Protestant plays as *Pammachius,* it clearly shows that the coming of Antichrist is to take place in the future, even though Catholics believed that Luther and other reformers were the forerunners of Antichrist. Certainly the end of the world is imminent—one belief that in the sixteenth century much Catholic and Protestant literature share. Yet the Modane *Antéchrist,* like the *Byrthe and Lyfe of Antechryst,* emphasizes the life of Antichrist and his short rule of deceit and tyranny, whereas Protestant literature traces a pattern of Antichristian rule in the thousand-year history of the papacy, emphasizing its rise in power during the early Middle Ages and its

decline during the Reformation. This pattern, of course, is outlined in Protestant commentaries on Revelation that interpret the final book of the Bible as a history of Christianity from Christ's ministry to his Second Advent, a history of continuing conflict between the true and the false churches—between Veritas and Pammachius, Cranmer and Papista.

A good example of this interpretation in Protestant literature is the Latin play by John Foxe, *Christus Triumphans* (ca. 1556). It represents the most effective treatment of Apocalyptic imagery in order to trace the historical pattern of the rise and decline of papal power.[69] It deserves detailed analysis, both because it is an important play that is seldom studied, and because, as another example of how contradictory are the Protestant and Catholic treatments of the same apocalyptic imagery, it can serve as a final means of distinguishing the medieval and Reformation views of Antichrist. Although freely mixing scriptural and allegorical personages (e.g., Eve and Peter with Psyche and Europus), *Christus Triumphans* particularly alludes to the imagery of Apocalypse 12, 13, and 17 to characterize the actions and language of its five major actors—Satan, Ecclesia, Pornapolis, Dioctes, and Pseudamnus. The apocalyptic battle between the dragon and the woman, in fact, underlies its entire plot, which develops Satan's scheming against Ecclesia. Satan's reference to his leading a third of the stars from heaven (I.3.43–44) and his imprisonment in hell for a thousand years (I.4.23–26) identify him with the dragon, whereas Ecclesia, the true church throughout history, is the woman robed in the sun (Apoc. 12:1). She can neither be defeated nor polluted by the false church, for as she states, "The election of God remains fixed with this sign, that he knows who his people are" (V.1.62–63). She is attacked by Pornapolis ("whore city"), who represents the whore of Babylon, the false church (IV.4.79–83). Like the whore, Pornapolis fornicates with kings, yet the people hail her as Ecclesia, the bride of the lamb (IV.10–29). Similarly, she and her supporters attack the true Ecclesia as a heretic, schismatic, madwoman, Wyclifite, Anabaptist, and a poor woman of Lyons (IV.8.39–66). Foxe thus further fol-

lows sixteenth-century interpretations of Revelation by identifying the true Ecclesia with Protestantism attacked by the false Ecclesia, Catholicism.[70]

Also significant in the play are the two beasts of Apocalypse 13, which in Protestant exegesis represent the Roman Empire and the papacy. For example, Dioctes ("persecutor") claims the authority of Satan on earth in a speech filled with allusions to the seven-headed beast that rises from the sea (III.4.1–9):

> The mighty leader and god of this world, Satan, sent me here out of the vast whirlpool of his sea and, in these letters with seals which Anabasius [Satan's messenger] carried up from Orcus together with a tenfold diadem and the fasces of rule, has made me his executor in overseeing his affairs—me along with my mistress, Pornapolis. On this authority I claim all rule under Olympus over all tongues and tribes everywhere.

Dioctes' reference to Pornapolis as his mistress further identifies him with the seven-headed beast on which the whore sits (Apoc. 17:3). Dioctes in the play thus represents the temporal power of pagan and papal Rome. He calls on the ten pagan persecutors of the early Christian church (III.4.31–37), and then, after the conversion of Constantine to Christianity, hides in Latium (IV.3.30–31) until Satan is released and Dioctes can regain "the rule which was seized by Constantine" (IV.4.128–30). The imagery surrounding the two-horned beast that rises from the earth, furthermore, characterizes the fifth important actor in Foxe's apocalyptic drama, Pseudamnus ("false lamb"). The name is well chosen. Not only does it bring to mind the inversion of Christ, the "lamb of God," but it also alludes to the beast that has horns like a lamb but a voice like a dragon (Apoc. 13:11). Pseudamnus, the Antichrist, represents the papacy in the play. He claims to be the "vicar of Christ" (IV.4.69–70), is filled with deceits and mysteries, and is supported by Dioctes (IV.6.31–35).

The actions of these five main characters are organized into a historical pattern by the apocalyptic millennium, the thousand-year binding of Satan that early reformers believed took place in the past. The play begins with a severe conflation of salvation

history. It stages Eve complaining of the fall of man, Mary of the death of Jesus, and Satan of his fall from heaven (I.1–3). When Christ leads Psyche from captivity and Raphael binds Satan (I.4), however, the order of church history begins. In contrast to the medieval mystery plays, which emphasize Old Testament events and the ministry of Christ on earth, *Christus Triumphans* quickly outlines salvation history to the beginning of the millennium and then concentrates on the events of church history. Act II stages the growth of primitive Christianity, the preaching of Peter, and the conversion of Paul. Since Satan is chained, Raphael explains that Pornapolis is established to carry on the devilish persecution of Ecclesia (II.1.1–10). Act III continues to portray the history of the early church and the spread of Christianity. Dioctes institutes the imperial persecutions on the one hand, but on the other, Ecclesia learns that her three children—Asia, Africus, and Europus—have been freed from prison (III.5.1–3). After three hundred years, with the conversion of Constantine (IV.2.10–11) the persecutions end, and Ecclesia praises Christ for his support and for banishing Dioctes. Yet time passes quickly, the millennium comes to an end, and Satan returns to the stage.[71] Since he recognizes that force cannot defeat Ecclesia, he devises a new threat that will seduce Christians. He calls forth Pseudamnus, who, in accordance with the Protestant notion that the papacy particularly gained power after the millennium, enters the action here for the first time. Although Pseudamnus in his deceit resembles the medieval expectation of Antichrist, Satan's detailed instructions to Pseudamnus emphasize his connection with the papacy (IV.4.61–119). Satan then also decides to stir up the Turks (IV.4.143–46). This action may refer to the Protestant interpretation of the unleashing of Gog and Magog (Apoc. 20:8), which also takes place after Satan's release. Significantly, Ecclesia distinguishes between the open hostility of the Turks and the hidden enmity of the papacy (IV.5.9–15):

Europus: Mother, the rumor among the people is that the Antichrist

is about to rise, but I think he's the Asian Mohammed who's so troubling our family.

Ecclesia: He is, but he isn't the one. There are as many Antichrists as there are enemies of Christ. But these confessed ones are less troublesome since we can take better precautions against them. The ones who conceal fraud under obedient service—I warn you, my sons, to be very much on your guard against those Vertumnuses.

By the end of Act IV, the Reformation is at hand, and the final act, which is filled with parodies of Catholicism, portrays the events of the sixteenth century and the imminence of the Second Advent. The reformer Hierologus explains to Europus that Pseudamnus is the Antichrist and Pornapolis the whore of Babylon (V.1.29–35). Hierologus and his companion Theosebes here take the role played by Enoch and Elias in the medieval plays, but when the two reformers are imprisoned in Bocardo, the Oxford prison of Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer, they are given a typical Protestant identification.[72] With the "revealing" of Antichrist, Pseudamnus begins to lose control over the people (V.3.24–43), but Ecclesia rejects the use of force, noting that she must suffer until the coming of Christ (V.4.47–58). In the play's final scene, a chorus of five virgins (Matt. 25:1–13) comes on stage, Ecclesia prepares to meet her bridegroom as garments are lowered from heaven, and all join in the wedding song. The chorus ends the play by noting that only the Second Coming remains and urging the audience to be faithful. The ending, like that of *Pammachius,* thus emphasizes Protestant apocalyptic expectations. Yet unlike the conclusion of the *Jour du Jugement,* it does not portray the Last Judgment; unlike the ending of the Chester *Coming of Antichrist,* it does not show Michael killing Antichrist. As a Protestant play, *Christus Triumphans* has described historical events. It ranges from the early church to the Reformation, but the final defeat of Antichrist remains in the future, and Foxe thus decides not to stage it.

It is important to note that Foxe's play was acted at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1562–63 and translated into French in

1561, while the *Coming of Antichrist* continued to be staged in Chester until 1575, and the Modane *Antéchrist,* with its heavy reliance upon the medieval tradition, was acted in 1580 and 1606. The great differences in the characters and plots of these contemporary plays represent the radical split in the Catholic and Protestant interpretations of Antichrist during the sixteenth century. The differing treatments of apocalyptic expectations also help explain why the Chester plays and other medieval Corpus Christi drama were suppressed in Protestant countries.[73] It is not merely that the cycle plays include references to saints and other Catholic doctrine that Protestants considered offensive. More significantly, the cycle plays assume an interpretation of history radically at odds with that of the reformers. After presenting the ministry of Christ and the establishment of the church at Pentecost, these plays usually skip into the future, to the coming of Antichrist and finally to Doomsday—these are the next significant events in salvation history. To the reformers, however, church history from Pentecost to Doomsday is extremely significant, for it reveals a pattern of the rise and decline of the papacy and an outline of the conflict between the true church of Christ and the false church of Antichrist. Church history thus becomes the key to explicating the mystery of the apocalyptic texts, and the identification of Antichrist as the papacy the key to interpreting the apocalyptic symbols.

This identification of Antichrist and the symbols is the hallmark of Reformation commentaries, art, and literature. Such a desire to identify Antichrist, in fact, may explain a curious addition to one of the sixteenth-century Banns for the Chester plays (Harley MS 1944):

> And then the Dieres and hewsters, Antechriste bringe out
> ffirste with his doctor that godly maye expownde
> whoe be Antechristes the worlde rownde aboute.[74]

This promise of a doctor to "expownde whoe be Antechristes" is not present in any of the earlier Banns, nor does a doctor appear to identify Antichrist in any extant version of the play. It is possi-

ble that, desiring to defend the plays against Protestant attacks, the Chester council decided to identify Antichrist with the papacy and thus, in a single stroke, make it a Protestant play. Such an identification, however, would not be sufficient, for the main character of the *Coming of Antichrist* is clearly based on the medieval, not the Reformation, interpretation. The play in fact does not identify him, for in the medieval view, Antichrist is Antichrist—not Satan, not the pope, but a man with devilish connections who will come for a short time in the future to deceive and persecute the righteous, kill the prophets Enoch and Elias, and finally be destroyed before the Second Advent of Christ.

Abbreviations Used in the Notes and Bibliography

CCL *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina.* Turnholti: Typographi Brepols editores Pontificii. Vol. 1–; 1954–.

CSCO *Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.* Editum consilio Universitatis Catholicae Americae et Universitatis Catholicae Lovaniensis. Vol. 1–; 1903–.

CSEL *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.* Editum consilio et impensis Academiae Litterarum Caesareae Vindobonensis. Vol. 1–; 1866–.

DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, contenant l'expose des doctrines de la théologie catholique, leurs preuves et leur histoire.* Edited by A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, E. Amann. 15 vols. Paris, 1908–72.

EETS Early English Text Society. Original Series. London. Vol. 1–; 1964–.

EETS ES Early English Text Society. Extra Series. London. Vols. 1–126; 1867–1920.

EETS SS Early English Text Society. Supplementary Series. London. Vol. 1–; 1970–.

Glossa *Glossa ordinaria: Biblia sacra cum glossis interlineari, et ordinaria, Nicolai Lyrani postilla, ac moralitalibus, Burgensis additionibus et Thoringi replicis.* 7 vols. Venice, 1588.

JWCI *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.*

MGH *Monumenta Germaniae historica inde ab anno Christi 500 usque ad annum 1500.* 1877–. Individual volumes cited by series titles.

MLN *Modern Language Notes.*

MLR *Modern Language Review.*

NTA *New Testament Apocrypha.* Edited by Edgar Hennecke

and Wilhelm Schneemelcher. Translated by R. M. Wilson. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965.

PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca.* Edited by Jacques Paul Migne. 161 vols. Paris, 1857–66.
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina.* Edited by Jacques Paul Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844–55.
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association.*
Parker Society	The Parker Society for the publication of the works of the fathers and early writers of the reformed English church. 56 vols. Cambridge: The University Press, 1841–55.
Rolls Series	*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi scriptores;* or *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages.* London, 1858–1911.
SATF	Société des anciens textes français. Paris. Vol. 1–; 1875–.
STC	*A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1475–1640.* Edited by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1926.

NOTES

Introduction

1. Earl Rovit, "On the Contemporary Apocalyptic Imagination," *American Scholar* 37 (1968):463.

2. Scholars, for example, describe the Essene Qumram as an "apocalyptic community." See David Noel Freedman, "The Flowering of Apocalyptic," in *Apocalypticism,* ed. Robert W. Funk (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), pp. 170–73. For a recent attempt to define the genre "apocalypse," see the essays in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre,* ed. John J. Collins, *Semeia,* 14 (Missoula, Mt.: Scholars Press, 1979).

3. Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 141–46.

4. Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 95.

5. Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Destiny of Man,* trans. Natalie Duddington (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 260.

6. Melvin Lasky, *Utopia and Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 37. The emphasis on radical thinkers of the later Middle Ages is particularly evident in Norman Cohn's influential *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Messianism in Medieval and Reformation Europe and Its Bearing on Modern Totalitarian Movements,* 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1961); and in Cohn's "Medieval Millenarism: Its Bearing on the Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements," *Millennial Dreams in Action: Studies in Revolutionary Religious Movements,* ed. Sylvia L. Thrupp (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), pp. 34–38. Hans Preuss, *Die Vorstellungen vom Antichrist im späteren Mittelalter, bei Luther und in der Konfessionellen Polemik* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906), pp. 44–75, is the best survey of the radical interpretation of Antichrist in the later Middle Ages. Bernard McGinn's collection and translation of medieval sources in *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages,* Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, 96 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), should bring some balance to the

study of medieval apocalypticism; it will be a major contribution to renewed study of the entire spectrum of apocalyptic thought.

7. Typical of sociological studies, Michael Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), describes in its introduction millenarian movements as "collective endeavors to anticipate, produce, or enter a realm of human perfection. Its hallmarks are nervous anticipation, withdrawal from normal social commitments, and bitter renunciation of the established order. Led by all manner of prophets and messiahs, these movements flicker briefly in the wake of disaster" (p.1).

8. Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study of Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969). Karl Löwith, *Meaning in History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), outlines Joachim's radical interpretation of history (pp. 145–59) and its modern manifestations (pp. 208–13). He notes that "the third dispensation of the Joachites reappeared as a third International and a third *Reich,* inaugurated by a *dux* or a *Führer* who was acclaimed as a savior and greeted by millions with *Heil!*" (p. 159).

9. Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England,* Riddell Memorial Lectures, 1969 (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 6–7. Many "books on the subject" referred to in Hill's note to the passage do not, except in passing, discuss the "identification of the Pope with Antichrist." In the case of "E. Sacher" [Sackur], *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1898), Hill refers to a collection of three "sibylline" texts that represent the traditional medieval view of Antichrist and that make no reference or allusion to the identification of Antichrist with the pope.

10. The interpretation that Hans Preuss, *Die Vorstellungen vom Antichrist,* calls "Die kirchlich-volkstümliche Anschauung" (pp. 10–44).

11. Jewel, *The Works of John Jewel,* ed. John Ayre, Parker Society, 24 (1847) 2:902–3.

Chapter 1

1. Since this study is primarily concerned with the medieval interpretation of the apocalyptic texts, all biblical references are from the Vulgate, *Bibliorum Sacrorum iuxta Vulgatum Clementinam,* nova editio, curavit Aloisius Gramatica (Rome: Vatican, 1959). Unless otherwise noted, throughout this study all translations from the Latin are the author's.

2. Edited in Rossell Hope Robbins, *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952), pp. 93-94.

3. Ernst Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology," *Apocalypticism,* ed. Robert W. Funk, Journal for Theology and the Church, 6 (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), p. 40. Käsemann's essay has led to much disagreement. See in the same volume Gerhard Ebeling, "The Ground of Christian Theology," pp. 47–68; and Ernst Fuchs, "On the Task of a Christian Theology," pp. 69–98. For a survey of recent studies of primitive Christian apocalyptic, see William A. Beardslee, "New Testament Apocalyptic in Recent Interpretation," *Interpretation* 25 (October 1971): 419–35.

4. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine,* vol. 1: *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100–600)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 123.

5. For the origins of apocalypticism, see Otto Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology,* trans. S. Rudman (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1968); and Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975). On the distinctions between the prophetic and the apocalyptic, see Richard Kenneth Emmerson, "The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic, and the Study of Medieval Literature," in *Prophetic Voice and Vision in Western Literature,* ed. Raymond-Jean Frontain and Jan Wojcik (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, forthcoming).

6. H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic: A Study of Jewish and Christian Apocalypses from Daniel to the Revelation* (New York: Association Press, 1963), p. 173.

7. D. S. Russell, *Between the Testaments,* 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), pp. 95–96.

8. *Demonstratio de Christo et Antichristo, CSCO* 264 and *PG* 10:725–88.

9. Augustine states concerning 2 Thess. 2: "Et ideo nos, qui nescimus quod illi sciebant, perveniere cum labore ad id, quod sensit apostolus, cupimus nec valemus; praesertim quia et illa, quae addidit, hunc sensum faciunt obscuriorem. . . . Ego prorsus quid dixerit me fateor ignorare. Suspiciones tamen hominum, quas vel audiere vel legere potui, non tacebo." *De civitate Dei,* 20.19, *CCL* 48:731.

10. Quoted in R. W. Southern, "Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing, 3: History as Prophecy," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 5th series, 22 (1972): 172.

11. Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology," *Apocalypticism,* ed. Funk, p. 34. Gerhard Ebeling argues that apocalypticism tends "to construct history and to deal wholesale with it in a highly abstract

way" and that it actually is an "escape from history" (page 64). Both scholars, however, emphasize apocalypticism's great influence on the Christian theology of history. The contradiction between their two views may be more apparent than real. It is possible in the apocalyptic outlook that history, because it records God's intervention in the affairs of man, takes on significance, but that apocalypticism is an "escape from history" because the Christian looks for true meaning beyond time. Mircea Eliade's discussion of "History Regarded as Theophany," *The Myth of the Eternal Return, or Cosmos and History,* trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series, 46 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 102–12, is very useful on this point.

12. See C. A. Patrides, *The Phoenix and the Ladder: The Rise and Decline of the Christian View of History,* University of California English Studies, 29 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 1–9.

13. M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York: Norton, 1971), p. 36.

14. *NTA* 2:148. Probably written in fifth-century Spain, the "Pseudo-Titus" is preserved in an eighth-century manuscript containing the *Homilies* of Caesarius of Arles.

15. Orosius, *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans,* trans. Irving Woodworth Raymon (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 360–63.

16. Orosius, *History,* p. 31.

17. Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 22.30, *CCL* 48:865–66. For Augustine's treatment of the ages, see August Luneau, *L'Histoire du salut chez les Pères de l'Eglise: la doctrine des âges du monde,* Théologie historique, 2 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1964), pp. 285–407, esp. pp. 295–327.

18. See Bonaventure, *Collationes in hexaemeron,* 15.12–17, trans. José de Vinck, *The Works of Bonaventure,* vol. 5 (Paterson, N.J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1970), pp. 223–24. For Isidore of Seville on the ages, see "De discretione temporum," *Etymologia,* 5.39, *PL* 82:224–28. In "De saeculis et aetatibus," *Etymologia* 5.38, *PL* 82:223, Isidore distinguishes between the ages of man (infancy, youth, etc.) and of the world. C. A. Patrides surveys the numerous histories developing the six ages and notes their continued use in the Renaissance, *The Phoenix and the Ladder,* pp. 14–36.

19. Bede, *In principium Genesis, CCL* 118:39. For the six ages, see *CCL* 118A:35–39; *De temporum ratione,* 66, *PL* 90:520–71; and Pseudo-Bede, *De sex dierum creatione, PL* 93:219. For allegorizations of the six ages, see Bede, *Homelia,* 14, *CCL* 122:99–102; and Beatus, *In Apocalipsin,* ed.

Henry A. Sanders (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1930), pp. 367–68. The theory of the six ages is reflected in medieval art depicting the major actors or events of each age, such as the Flood or the building of the Temple. See the illustration in the thirteenth-century Apocalypse, Lisbon, Gulbenkian L.A. 139, fol. 6r. The *Liber floridus* of Lambert of St. Omer (ca. 1120) includes two full-page illustrations of the six ages in the form of a great circle split into six sections. Each section includes the names of relevant characters from history. The text on fol. 19v ends with a reminder that the sixth age culminates "in antichristi est persecutione ventura." See Albert Derolez, ed., *Lamberti S. Audomari canonici, Liber floridus* (Ghent: E. Story-Scientia, 1968), p. 40.

20. Barbara Nolan outlines the shift in interpretation that developed into a new emphasis upon the Apocalypse as a book of meditation and an outline of history. *The Gothic Visionary Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 5–29.

21. For interpretations of the seven seals, see Wilhelm Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie: Die mittelalterliche Auslegung der Apokalypse vor Joachim von Fiore,* Historische Studien, 285 (Berlin: Verlag Dr. Emil Ebering, 1935), pp. 64–70. For Joachim's exegesis, see Marjorie Reeves and Beatrice Hirsch-Reich, "The Seven Seals in the Writings of Joachim of Fiore," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 21 (1954):211–47. Joachim's system, developed in his *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Venice, 1527), fols. 6v-12r, interprets the opening of the first seal as representing the Christian church until the death of John; the second seal, to Constantine; the third, to Justinian; the fourth, to Charlemagne; and the fifth, to the present. The sixth then represents the coming conflict with the sixth and seventh heads of the dragon, and the seventh seal represents the Sabbath age. For the influence of Rupert of Deutz and Anselm of Havelberg on the historical interpretation of the seals, see Marjorie Reeves, "History and Prophecy in Medieval Thought," *Mediaevalia et Humanistica,* n.s. 5 (1974): 53-55.

22. Richard of Saint Victor also notes that the sixth seal describes "the tribulation in the days of Antichrist's coming. . . ." See *In Apocalypsim Ioannis libri septem, PL* 196:769.

23. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae,* pars tertia, Q. 8, Art. 8, *Opera omnia,* ed. Giovanni Maria Allodi (Parma, 1852–73; reprint ed., New York: Musurgia, 1948), 4:52. See Tyconius, *Liber regularum,* 7, "De Diabolo et corpus eius," F. C. Burkitt, ed. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1894).

24. Beatus, *In Apocalypsin,* ed. Sanders, p. 475; see also p. 127. Gregory, *Moralium* 29.7.15, *PL* 76:484.

25. Gregory, *Moralia, PL* 76:648–50, 703–16. For illustrations of Behemoth and Leviathan as Antichrist, see chapter 4, "Antichrist in Medieval Art."

26. "And the man of evil will be revealed, that is Antichrist, the son of perdition. . . ." *CSEL* 47:60. Of course, the original biblical text does not refer to Antichrist. For the relationship between Antichrist and the "man of evil," see Josef Ernst, *Die eschatologischen Gegenspieler in den Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1967), pp. 278–80.

27. *Pauline Epistles,* ed. Margaret Joyce Powell, EETS ES 116 (1916): 205. See the *Glossa*, vol. 6. fol. 115r.

28. For the locust beasts, see Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in Apocalypsin, PL* 117:1,052; and Martin of Leon, *Expositio libri Apocalypsis, PL* 209:350. Most medieval commentaries identify the beast from the abyss as Antichrist. See Beatus, *In Apocalypsin,* ed. Sanders, pp. 445–48; Martin of Leon, *PL* 209:362; Berengaudus, *Super septem visiones libri Apocalypsis, PL* 17:953. Ambrose identifies the beast in his discussion of Psalm 45, *Enarrationes in XII Psalmos, PL* 14:1,193. Haimo prefers to see the beast as a forerunner of Antichrist whom he identifies as the beast from the sea (Apoc. 13). See *PL* 117:1,072.

29. "Septimum vero caput diaboli erit Antichristus. . . . Per caudam vero, quae finis est corporis, Antichristus designatur." Berengaudus also comments: "Tertiam igitur partem stellarum coeli cauda draconis traxisse visa est; quia Antichristus multos ex iis, qui ab hominibus electi putabantur, et qui in Ecclesia velut stellae in coelo, scientia et intellectu refulgent, decipiet atque in perditionis foveam demerget." *PL* 17:960. The identity of Berengaudus is uncertain. He may be identified as Berengaudus of Auxerre (ninth century) or Berengaudus of Angers (twelfth century). See Antonio Romeo, "Berengaudo," *Enciclopedia Cattolica,* 2:1,377. Berengaudus' interpretations are particularly influential since the Anglo-Norman illuminated Apocalypses often include his commentary; see chapter 4. On the tail of the dragon, see Haimo, *PL* 117:1,082; Victorinus of Pettau, *Commentarium in Apocalypsin, CSEL* 49:110. The *Pricke of Conscience* exemplifies how the interpretation passed into vernacular literature:

> Þe dragon es understanden þe fende
> And his taille anticrist þat folowed at þe ende
> And þe thred part of þe sternes bright

> Er cristen men undirstanden right,
> Þe whilk he sal fra right trouthe draw
> And do þam in erthe to hald his law.

Ed. Richard Morris, Philological Society, Early English Volume, 1862–64 (London: Asher, 1865), lines 4,425–30.

30. Berengaudus' identification of the seven heads of the beast as the seven vices influenced later pictorial and literary treatments of Antichrist: "septem vero capita septem vitia principalia designant. . . . Primum namque vitium posuit culturam idolorum, secundum libidinem, tertium iram, quartum superbiam, quintum luxuriam. . . . Sextum posuit avaritiam, septimum blasphemiam sive discordiam. Et quia eos qui iis vitiis subditi erunt, facile Antichristus decipiet sibique sociabit, recte per septem capita septem vitia designantur." *PL* 17:965.

31. *Glossa,* vol. 6, fol. 259v.

32. "Vocatur enim Antichristus draco, propter fallendi fortitudinem et volubilitatem; vocatur et bestia, propter crudelitatem; vocatur autem pseudopropheta, quia se Christum esse mentitur." Bruno of Segni, *PL* 165:695.

33. "Ita ut etiam ignem de coelo descendere faciat, id est spiritum malignum quasi Spiritum sanctum descendere in terram. . . ." Martin of Leon, *PL* 209:370.

34. Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Six Essays* (New York: Meridian, 1959), p. 29. For a discussion of typology, see also Johan Chydenius, "The Theory of Medieval Symbolism," *Societas scientiarum Fennica, commentationes humanarum litterarum,* 27 (1960): 16–24. Chydenius calls typology "historical symbolism."

35. Nicholas of Lyra also speaks of a double interpretation of Daniel 11:31: "Ideo est ibi duplex sensus literalis: Unus de Antiocho qui dictus est Epiphanes: Alius de Antichristo, ad quem praedicta possunt de facili applicari." See *Glossa,* vol 4, fol. 325v.

36. "Sicut igitur salvator habet et Solomonem et ceteros sanctos in typum adventus sui, sic et Antichristus pessimim regem Antiochum, qui sanctos persecutus est templumque violavit recte typum sui habuisse credendus est." Jerome, *De Antichristo in Danielem, CCL* 75A:914.

37. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae,* pars tertia, Q. 8, Art. 8, *Opera omnia,* 4:52.

38. "Ut autem multi reges pii, pontifices vel prophete precesserunt unum Christum, qui fuit rex et pontifex et propheta: ita multi reges impii et pseudoprophete et Antichristi precedunt unum Antichristum qui se esse simulabit regem et pontificem et prophetam." See Marjorie

Reeves and Beatrice Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), p. 150.

39. Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in librum Judicum,* 2.11, *PL* 108:1,171–72; see also Pseudo-Bede, "De Abimelech," *Quaestiones super librum Judicum, PL* 93:427–28.

40. Peter Lombard, *Commentarius in Psalmos, PL* 191:496. See Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum,* 51, *CCL* 97:472; Bruno of Segni, *Expositio in Psalmos, PL* 164:884; Rupert of Deutz, *Commentariorum in libros Regum,* 2.9, *PL* 167:1,106–7; Gerhoch von Reichersberg, *Commentarius in Psalmos, PL* 193:1,613.

41. Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae,* 244, *PL* 83:129. See also Origen, *Series commentariorum in Matthaeum,* 33, *PG* 13:1,645; Hilary, *Commentarius in Matthaeum,* 33.2, *PL* 9:1,073; *Glossa,* vol. 5, fol. 84r.

42. Jean Daniélou notes that Simon Magus may have been the leader of the gnostic sect of Simonians. See *The Development of Christian Doctrine Before the Council of Nicaea,* vol. 1: *The Theology of Jewish Christianity,* trans. John A. Baker (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1964), pp. 72–74. See also Wilhelm Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend,* trans. A. H. Keane (London: Hutchinson, 1896), pp. 147–50; Primasius, *Commentariorum supra Apocalypsim, 4, PL* 68:882; Gregory, *Moralium* 29.7.15, *PL* 76:484; Bruno of Segni, *Commentaria in Matthaeum,* 4.99, *PL* 165:269–70; and Matthew of Janov, *Regulae veteris et novi testamenti,* 3.5.2, ed. Vlastimil Kybal, vol. 3 (Prague, 1911), p. 9. For the association of Antichrist and Simon Magus in vernacular literature, see *Cursor Mundi,* ed. Richard Morris, vol. 4, EETS 86 (1877), lines 22,161–64. For the medieval development of the Simon Magus legend, see William R. Cook and Ronald B. Herzman, "Simon Magus and the Medieval Tradition," *Journal of Magic History* 2 (1980):28-43.

43. *Pseudo-Clementine Homily* 2.17.4–5, *NTA* 2:545–46. Simon's claim to be the Messiah and the Christ especially associates him with Antichrist. See *Homily* 2.22.3–6, *NTA* 2:546–47. See also the account in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History,* 2.1, 2.13–14.

44. "Dicens habitantibus in terra, ut faciant imaginem bestiae, quae habet plagam gladii, et vixit; videlicet, ut in imaginibus Antichristus adoretur. Quod autem bestiam plagam gladii habuisse dixit, et vixisse, potest fieri ut arte diabolica fingat se Antichristus mori et resurgere, ut hoc facto facilius homines decipiat: quod Simon magus fecisse dicitur." Berengaudus, *PL* 17:970–71. Similarly, an early eleventh-century addition to Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo* explains that Antichrist's miracles

are false by comparing them to the wonders of Simon Magus: "Sed mendacia erunt et a veritate aliena, quia per magicam artem et fantasiam deludet homines, sicut et Simon Magus delusit illum, qui, putans eum occidere, arietem decollavit pro eo." *Adso Dervensis, De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. D. Verhelst, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis,* 45 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1976), p.45.

45. "Mystice autem Antiochus hic, qui intravit in terram sanctam cum superbia, et devastatit templum, et locum sanctum polluit superstitione gentili, typum tenet Antichristi, qui contra Ecclesiam Christi bellum crudeliter gerit, et animas credentium, quae vere templum Dei sunt, errore suo polluere contendit. . . ." Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in libros Macchabaeorum, PL* 109:1134. See also Cyprian, *Ad Fortunatum,* 11, *CSEL* 3–1:338; Gregory, *Moralia* 30.3.10, *PL* 76:528–29, and 32.15. 26, *PL* 76:651; Nicholas of Lyra, *Glossa,* vol. 3, fol. 160r.

46. Jerome, *De Antichristo in Danielem, CCL* 75A:914, 920–22, 937, 940, 942. See also Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 4, fols. 324r–326r. This interpretation of Antiochus Epiphanes continued into the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremburg: Anton Koberger, 1493), for example, notes that "Iste Antiochus nobilus sive illustris regnavit annis xi pessimus fuit et figura antichristi" (fol. lxxxi verso).

47. John Chrysostom, *In epistolam secundam ad Thessalonicenses,* 4, *PG* 62:486. See also Jerome, *De Antichristo, CCL* 75A:920; Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor, *Quaestiones in epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 175:591. The *Quaestiones* is attributed to Hugh in Migne, but see F. Vernet, "Hughes de Saint-Victor," *DTC*, 7:240-308. Concerning the persecution of Nero, the *Quaestiones* states: "Vel, quod melius est, ideo dictus est diabolus operari occulte in Nerone, non quia manifesta esset illa persecutio, sed quia est umbra, et figura, et imago quaedam illius, quae fiet per Antichristum quae multo gravior erit omnibus, quae praecesserunt."

48. Tacitus, *The Histories,* 2.8, ed. and trans. Clifford H. Moore, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937). Suetonius, *Nero,* 6.57, in *The Lives of the Caesars,* 2, trans. J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library (New York: Putnam, 1930).

49. *Ascension of Isaiah,* 4.1–14, *NTA* 2:648–49.

50. *NTA* 2:727.

51. Victorinus, *Commentarium in Apocalypsin,* 13.3, *CSEL* 49:120. Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogus,* 1, *CSEL* 1:197, and *Chronica,* 2.29, *CSEL* 1:84. See also Commodian, *Carmen de duobus populis, CCL* 128, lines 927–36,

and *Instructiones,* 1.41, "De Antechristi tempore," *CCL* 128:33–34. Commodian appears to distinguish two Antichrists, one for the Romans and another for the Jews. See Jean Daniélou, *The Development of Christian Doctrine Before the Council of Nicaea,* vol. 3: *The Origins of Latin Christianity,* trans. David Smith and John A. Baker (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1977), pp. 116–19.

52. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum,* 2, *CSEL* 27:175–76. See also Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 20.19, *CCL* 48:732: "*Iam enim mysterium iniquitatis operatur,* Neronem voluerit intellegi, cuius iam facta velut Antichristi videbantur. Unde nonnulli ipsum resurrecturum et futurum Antichristum suspicantur; alii vero nec occisum putant, sed subtractum potius, ut putaretur occisus, et vivum occultari in vigore ipsius aetatis, in qua fuit, cum crederetur extinctus, donec suo tempore reveletur et restituatur in regnum. Sed multum mihi mira est haec opinantium tanta praesumptio." Peter Lombard follows Augustine closely, *In epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 192:318–19.

53. Thomas Aquinas, *In epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses,* II, *Opera omnia,* 13:578.

54. *Collationes,* 15.7, 8, trans. José de Vinck, *Works of Bonaventure,* 5:216–21.

55. *Glossa,* vol. 6, fol. 258v. Richard of Saint Victor, *In Apocalypsim Ioannis, PL* 196:805. *An Anglo-Norman Rhymed Apocalypse with Commentary,* ed. Olwen Rhys, Anglo-Norman Texts, 6 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1946), lines 2,365–68. *An English Fourteenth Century Apocalypse Version with a Prose Commentary,* ed. Elis Fridner, Lund Studies in English, 29 (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1961), pp. 101–2.

56. Berengaudus, *PL* 17:959–60; Rupert of Deutz, *Commentariorum in Ioannis Apocalypsin* (Nuremberg, 1526); Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Venice, 1527; reprint ed., Frankfurt, 1964), fols. 154r–156r. Marjorie Reeves and Beatrice Hirsch-Reich comment on Joachim's illustrations of the seven-headed dragon; *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore,* pp. 149–52, illustrations 21, 22.

57. Käsemann, *Apocalypticism,* ed. Funk, p. 33.

Chapter 2

1. Wilhelm Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend,* trans. A. H. Keane (London: Hutchinson, 1896), pp. 13, 94, 112, 144 especially.

2. Philipp Vielhauer, "Introduction: Apocalypses," *NTA* 2:600.

3. For commentaries on 1 John, see Augustine, *Tractatus in epistolam Ioannis ad Parthos,* 3, *PL* 35:1,997–2,005; and Bede, *In primam epistolam S. Ioannis, PL* 93:85–120. For a modern discussion, see Rudolf Bultmann, *The Johannine Epistles,* trans. R. Philip O'Hara, Lane C. McGaughy, and Robert W. Funk (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1973), pp. 35–41.

4. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend,* p. 31.

5. *Biblia sacra cum glossis* (Venice, 1588), 7 vols. For a discussion of the authorship of the *Glossa,* see Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), pp. 56–65. Nicholas of Lyra, one of the first Christians to make extensive use of medieval rabbinic exegesis, has been called the "Jerome of the fourteenth century." For his exegesis, see Smalley, p. 274; Herman Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963), pp. 137–246; and Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'Écriture* (Paris: Aubier, 1961), pt. 2, vol. 2, pp. 344–55.

6. *Glossa,* vol. 6, fols. 230r and 236r.

7. For useful commentaries on 2 Thess. 2 that discuss Antichrist, see Pseudo-Ambrose, *Commentarius in epistolam B. Pauli ad Thessalonicenses secundam, PL* 17:479–86 (see A. Largent, "Ambroise," *DTC,* 2:942–51, for attribution); John Chrysostom, *In epistolam secundam ad Thessalonicenses, PG* 62:482–87; Jerome, *Epistola 121, Ad Algasiam, PL* 22:1,035–38; Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 20.19, *CCL* 48:730–33; Primasius, *Ad Thessalonicenses epistola secunda, PL* 68:645–50; Haimo, *Expositio in epistolas ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 117:779–82; Rabanus Maurus, *Expositio in epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 112:569–74; Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor, *Quaestiones in epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 175:589–94; Lanfranc, *In epistolam ad Thessalonicenses II, PL* 150:342–44; Thomas Aquinas, *In Epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, Opera Omnia,* ed. Giovanni Maria Allodi (Parma, 1852–73; reprint ed., New York: Musurgia, 1948), 13:573–84.

8. The Index of Christian Art (ICA) includes several photographs of miniatures and decorated initials at the beginning of 2 Thess. that portray the fall of Antichrist. Commentaries on 2 Thess., such as that by Innocent V, also include such illustrations. For the portrayal of Antichrist in medieval art, see chapter 4.

9. On verse 3, see Augustine, *CCL* 48:732; on verse 4, Rabanus Maurus, *PL* 112:571 and *Glossa,* vol. 6, fol. 114v; on verse 7, *Glossa,* vol. 6, fol. 115r; on verse 8, Victorinus, *Commentarium in Apocalypsin,* 1.4,

CSEL 49:24; Gregory, *Moralia*, 14.22.26, *PL* 75:1,053; and Rupert of Deutz, *De victoria verbi Dei, PL* 169:1,496–97; on verse 9, Origen, *Contra Celsum, PG* 11:1,370 and Peter Lombard, *PL* 192:320; on verse 11, John Chrysostom, *PG* 62:487 and Isidore, *Sententiarum*, 1.25.9, *PL* 83:594.

10. For useful commentaries on the Apocalypse that discuss Antichrist, see Hippolytus, *De Antichristo, CSCO* 264; Victorinus, *In Apocalypsin, CSEL* 49; Primasius, *Super Apocalypsim, PL* 68:793–936; Cassiodorus, *In Apocalypsin, PL* 70:1,405–18; Beatus, *In Apocalypsin*, ed. Henry A. Sanders; Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis, PL* 93:133–206; Pseudo-Alcuin, *In Apocalypsin, PL* 100:1,085–1,156 (for attribution, see "Alcuin," *DTC*, 1:687–92); Haimo, *In Apocalypsim, PL* 117:937–1,220; Rupert of Deutz, *In Ioannis Apocalypsin* (Nuremberg, 1526); Bruno of Segni, *Expositio in Apocalypsim, PL* 165:603–736; Berengaudus, *Super septem visiones libri Apocalypsim, PL* 17:843–1,058; Richard of Saint Victor, *In Apocalypsim, PL* 196:683–888; Martin of Leon, *Expositio libri Apocalypsis, PL* 209:299–420; Alexander Minorita, *In Apocalypsim, Quellen zur Gestegeschichte des Mittelalters*, 1, ed. Alois Wachtel, *MGH* (Weimar: Hermann Bohlaus, 1955). On Apoc. 13, see *Glossa*, vol. 6, fols. 258v–260r.

11. For interpretations of the 666, see Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, 5.29.2, and 5.30.1–3, ed. W. Wigan Harvey (1857; reprint ed., Ridgewood, N.J.: Gregg, 1965), 2:404–10; Victorinus, *CSEL* 49:124; Primasius, *PL* 68:884; Haimo, *PL* 117:1,102–3; Bruno of Segni, *PL* 165:677; Martin of Leon, *PL* 209:371.

12. For a facsimile reproduction of the Beatus Antichrist tables, see Jaime Marques Casanovas, Cesar E. Dubler, Wilhelm Neuss, eds., *Santi Beati a Liebana in Apocalypsin codex Gerundensis* (Olten, Switzerland: Urs Graf, 1962), fols. 185v and 186r. For a discussion of the tables, see Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibelillustration* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1931), 1:73–80; and Georgianna Goddard King, "Divigations on the Beatus," *Art Studies* 8, pt. 1 (1930): 14.

13. Berengaudus, *PL* 17:972.

14. On Malachi 4:5, see Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 20.29, *CCL* 48:752–53 and *Glossa*, vol. 4, fol. 427v.

15. See *Glossa*, vol. 6, fols. 256r–256v. See also Pseudo-Alcuin, *PL* 100:1,147 and Haimo, *PL* 117:1,072. Antichrist killing the witnesses is one of the most popular scenes in the literature and iconography of Antichrist.

16. For useful commentaries on Ezekiel, see Jerome, *Commentariorum*

in Hiezechielem, CCL 75; Gregory, *Homilia in Hiezechihelem, CCL* 142; Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Ezechielem, PL* 110:493–1,084; *Glossa,* vol. 4, fols. 263v–266r. Gog and Magog are portrayed in medieval illuminated manuscripts as both bestial and human. See chapter 4.

17. For useful commentaries on Matthew 24, see Jerome, *Commentariorum in Mattheum, CCL* 77:226; Paschasius Radbertus, *In evangelium Matthaei, PL* 120:798–837; Bruno of Segni, *In Matthaeum, PL* 165:269–76; and *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 325r and vol. 5, fol. 74r. For Mark 13, see Bede, *Expositio evangelii secundum Marcum, PL* 92:259–66.

18. Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 5, fol. 74r.

19. Hippolytus, *De Antichristo,* 28, *CSCO* 264:65–66. For useful commentaries on Daniel, see Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel,* Sources Chrétiennes, 14; Jerome, *De Antichristo in Danielem, CCL* 75A:914–44; *Glossa,* vol. 4, fols. 310r–328r.

20. Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 310r. See also Hippolytus, *De Antichristo,* 25, *CSCO* 264:64–65; Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 20.23, *CCL* 48:741–43.

21. Jerome, *CCL* 75A:921–22. See also *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 325r.

22. Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 328r.

23. Genesis 49 is often cited by commentators. See Rufinus of Aquileia, *De benedictionibus patriarcharum,* 2.15, *CCL* 20:213; Augustine, *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum,* 6.22, *CCL* 33:329; Alcuin, *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesim, PL* 100:564–66; Rupert of Deutz, *Commentariorum in Genesim,* 9.32, *PL* 167:556–57. On Deuteronomy 33 see, for examples, Hippolytus, *De Antichristo,* 24, *CSCO* 264:60. On Jeremiah 8, see Irenaeus, *Adverus haereses,* 5.30.2.

24. Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 48v. See also Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaiam,* 8, *CCL* 73:327. Other chapters in Isaiah influencing the Antichrist tradition include chapter 14, interpreted as a description of Antichrist's eventual destruction, and chapters 24–25, as descriptions of the tribulations under Antichrist. See Hippolytus, *De Antichristo,* 16–17, *CSCO* 264:61–62; Commodian, "De Antechristi tempore," *CCL* 128:33–34; *Glossa,* vol. 4, fols. 46v–48v.

25. References to Antichrist appear throughout Gregory's *Moralia.* See *PL* 75:1,009, 1,052–54, 1,090, 1,117, 1,120, and *PL* 76:343, 368, 428, 484–87, 520, 528, 596–97, 648–55, 703, 709–16, 721, 726–29, 736–37.

26. Jerome, *In Hieremiam prophetam,* 2.78.2, *CCL* 74:97. See also *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 125r.

27. Bruno, *Commentaria in Ioannem, PL* 165:492. See also Irenaeus,

Adversus haereses, 5.25.4; Hilary, *De Trinitate,* 9.22, *PL* 10:298; Otto of Freising, *Historia de duabus civitatibus,* 8.3, ed. A. Hofmeister (Hanover, 1912), pp. 395–96; *Glossa,* vol. 5, fol. 203v.

28. *Harrowing of Hell,* lines 245–52, edited R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, *The Chester Mystery Cycle,* EETS SS 3 (1974). For the *Gospel of Nicodemus,* see *Descensus Christi ad Inferos,* in *Evangelia Apocrypha,* ed. C. Tischendorf (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1876), pp. 404–5. For the *Apocalypse of Peter,* see *NTA* 2:669.

29. For the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies,* see *NTA* 2:545–52: for *Acts of Peter,* see *NTA* 2:282–83, 316; for *Apocalypse of Elijah,* see G. Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias,* Texte und Unterschungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 17 (1899); for *Apocalypse of John,* see Tischendorf, ed., *Evangelia Apocrypha,* pp. 70–94.

30. For the *Vercelli Homilies,* see Max Förster, "Die Vercelli-Codex CXVII nebst Abdruck einiger altenglischer Homilien der Handschrift," in F. Holthausen and H. Spies, eds., *Festschrift fur Lorenz Morsbach, Studien zur englischen Philologie,* 50 (1913): 120. See also Förster, "A New Version of the *Apocalypse of Thomas* in Old English," *Anglia* 73 (1955): 6–36. For the *Blickling Homilies,* see Richard Morris, ed., *The Blickling Homilies,* EETS 58, 63, 73 (1874–80; reprint, 3 vols. in 1, 1967), pp. 93–95.

31. See Philipp Vielhauer, "Christian Sibyllines," *NTA* 2:707. For a discussion of the early Christian use of sibylline sources, see H.N. Bate, ed., *The Sibylline Oracles: Books III–V* (London: Macmillan, 1918), pp. 32–36.

32. R. W. Southern, "Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing, 3: History as Prophecy," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 5th series, 22 (1972): 172.

33. *Pseudo-Methodius,* ed. Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1898), pp. 3–96. Bousset discusses seven apocalyptic fragments that he identifies in the *Pseudo-Methodius*; see *The Antichrist Legend,* pp. 52–56. For recent discussions of the influence of the *Pseudo-Methodius,* see Horst Dieter Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter: von Tyconius zum deutschen Symbolismus,* Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, n.f. 9 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1973), pp. 145–52; and Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End,* pp. 70–73.

34. *Revelations* of Methodius, ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn, "The Middle-English Metrical Version of the *Revelations* of Methodius," *PMLA* 33 (1918): 180, lines 892–97.

35. Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter*, p. 138.

36. See *Tiburtine Oracle*, ed. Sackur, pp. 117–87, especially on the Last World Emperor, p. 185. For another edition, see R. Usinger, "Eine Sibylle des Mittelalters," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, 10 (1870): 621–31. For an early sixth-century Greek version of the fourth-century Greek archetype of the Latin versions, see Paul J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek: the Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 10 (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967). For the relationship between the Greek and Latin versions, see pp. 60–66.

37. For the sibyl attributed to Bede, see *PL* 90:1,181–86. For Mathew Paris, see *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series, 57 (1872; reprint ed., Kraus Reprint, 1964), 1:50. For Peter Comestor, see "Liber Danielis," 6, *Historia scholastica, PL* 198:1,453–55.

38. For a survey and analysis of New Testament expectations of the Parousia, see A. L. Moore, *The Parousia in the New Testament*, supplement to *Novum Testamentum*, 13 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), pp. 108–59.

39. *Epistle of Barnabas*, ed. and trans. James A. Kleist, *The Didache, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistles and the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp, the Fragments of Papias, the Epistle to Diognetus*, Ancient Christian Writers, 6 (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1948), p. 40. See also Christian Sibyl II, *NTA* 2:713.

40. Lactantius, *Institutiones divinae*, 7.15, *CSEL* 19:632.

41. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 1: *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100–600)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 129.

42. Bede, *In primam epistolam S. Ioannis, PL* 93:93–94.

43. J. E. Cross, "Aspects of Microcosm and Macrocosm in Old English Literature," *Comparative Literature*, 14 (1962): 1–22, especially p. 5. Milton McCormick Gatch notes that "Old English churchmen tended to see eschatological implications in almost every portion of the Christian tradition." See "Eschatology in the Anonymous Old English Homilies," *Traditio* 21 (1965): 129. Gatch's recent *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), surveys the eschatology of the two great Old English homilists. See also the *Life of Saint Neot*, ed. Richard Wuelcker, "Ein angelsaechsisches Leben des Neot," *Anglia* 3 (1880): 102–14.

44. *Œuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, SATF 9 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1878–93), 3:185, lines 11–20. *Balades* 938, 950, 961, and 1,146 discuss Antichrist. *Balades* 52, 371, 400, 1,046, and 1,446 include prophecies of the end.

45. Berengaudus, *Expositio super septem visiones libri Apocalypsis, PL* 17:965; see chapter 1, note 30. See Peter Lombard, *In epistolam ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 192:317; and *Glossa,* "Moraliter," vol 6, fol. 258v: "Et dicitur hic bestia habens septem capita, per quae significantur septem vitia capitalia." For an illustration of the relationship between Antichrist and the vices, see MS. Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, L. A. 139, fol. 34v, discussed in chapter 4. Antichrist is usually portrayed in medieval art as encouraging particular vices, especially lechery and avarice.

46. For Deschamps, see *Œuvres complètes,* SATF 9, 8:130. For the *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist* and *Piers Plowman,* see chapter 5. For "Antichriste, quid moraris?" see Clemens Blume and Guido M. Dreves, eds., *Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi,* 33 (1899; reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint, 1961), p. 313, no. 263.

47. *Mirour de l'Omne,* lines 18,793–804; see G. C. Macaulay, ed., *Complete Works of John Gower* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1899–1902), vol. 1. For other poems linking Antichrist with the vices and the signs of the end, see Theodolf of Orleans, "Quod plerumque mali mala patiuntur et de tempore Antichristi," *Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi,* vol. 1: *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, MGH* (Berlin, 1881), p. 475, no. 18; and "Satire contre les differents états," ed. Edelstand du Méril, *Poésies inédites du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1854), p. 321.

48. *Jack Upland,* ed. P. L. Heyworth, *Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply, and Upland's Rejoinder* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 56. On the vices in the last days, see Joseph R. Keller, "The Triumph of Vice: A Formal Approach to the Medieval Complaint Against the Times," *Annuale Medievale* 10 (1968): 127–31.

49. Quintus Julius Hilarianus, *Chronologia, sive Libellus de mundi duratione,* 16–17, *PL* 13:1,104–5. The *Chronologia* was written ca. 397. According to Beatus, the sixth age would end ca. 800. See *In Apocalipsin,* ed. Sanders, pp. 367–68.

50. "Cur fatui expectant finem mundi?" Quoted by Heinrich Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII: Funde und Forschungen,* Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen, 2 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1902), p. 222. Augustine states that it is a waste of time to calculate the end of time: "Omnium vero de hac re calculantium digitos resoluit et quiescere iubet ille, qui dicit: *non est vestrum scire tempora, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate." De civitate Dei,* 18.53, *CCL* 48:652.

51. Henri Focillon, *The Year 1000* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 47. See also Jules Roy, *L'An mille: formation de la légende de l'an mille état de la France de l'an 950 à l'an 1050* (Paris: Hachette, 1885). For a

general discusson of medieval date-setting, see J. A. MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable* (London: Harrap, 1932), pp. 287–99.

52. Abbo of Fleury, *Apologeticus, PL* 139:471–72; Raoul Glaber, *Historiarum sui temporis,* 2.6, 4.4, 4.6, *PL* 142:637, 675–78, 680–82. On Glaber's influence, see A. Vasiliev, "Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: West and East," *Byzantion* 16 (1942–43): 478–79. Vasiliev concludes, after tracing the historical treatment of the year 1000, that "there can be no question that the terrors of the year 1000 which supposedly overwhelmingly affected the entire European West are mere fiction" (p. 487).

53. Wulfstan, *The Homilies of Wulfstan,* ed. Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), p. 267. Milton McCormick Gatch states that Wulfstan's contemporary, Ælfric, "was more concerned than his predecessors with the implications of his belief that his own period was the end of the sixth age of history and that the signs of the last times were to be seen in current history." *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 104.

54. See M. Gaster, "The Letter of Toledo," *Folk-Lore* 13 (1902): 115–34.

55. On dating of the Anglo-Norman Apocalypses, see the arguments of George Henderson, "Studies in English Manuscript Illumination. Parts II and III: The English Apocalypse, I and II," *JWCI* 30 (1967): 71–137 and 31 (1968): 103–47. Henderson believes that the popularity of the Apocalypse was due more to upper-class taste than to religious expectations of the time.

56. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora,* ed. Henry Richard Luard, Rolls Series, 57 (1872; reprint ed., Kraus Reprint, 1964), 6:80. For manuscripts containing these lyrics, see Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), pp. 49–50. For an expanded and slightly different version of these lines (not noted by Reeves), see MS Angers 56 (49) (14th century), described in *Catalogue général des manuscrits publiques de France, Départements,* vol. 31 (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1898), p. 207:

Cum fuerunt anni completi mille ducenti
Et novies decies a partu Virginis alme,
Tunc Antichristus nascetur demone plenus.

Anni milleni fulgebunt atque trecenti
Et decies quinque post partum Virginis alme,
Tunc Antichristus regnabit demone plenus.

57. See Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951; rpt. 1978), pp. 70–80, especially. On Giovanni Villani, see Louis Green, *Chronicle into History: An Essay on the Interpretation of History in Florentine Fourteenth–Century Chronicles* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1972), p. 38.

58. Arnold of Villanova, *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi,* ed. Heinrich Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII,* pp. cxlii and clix: "tempus persecutionis Antichristi infra XIIII centenarium annorum a Christi nativitate circiter septuagesimum octavum annum illius centenarii." On Arnold, see Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, c. 1250–c. 1450* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967), 1:176–85.

59. Jan Milic, *Libellus de Antichristo,* 2, ed. Vlastimil Kybal, *Mateje z Janova, Regulae veteris et novi testamenti,* 3 (Prague, 1911): 372–73.

60. See Etienne Delaruelle, *La Pieté populaire au Moyen Âge* (Turin: Bottega d' Erasmo, 1975), pp. 329–54. Vincent Ferrer asserts that "nullus homo, quantumcumque devotus, seit diem, horam, mensem aut annum adventus Antichristi. . . ." See his "De Antichristo," edited P. Sigismund Brettle, *San Vincente Ferrer und sein literarischer Nachlass* (Münster, Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1924), p. 181.

61. On Renaissance conceptions of Antichrist, see the conclusion. See also André Chastel, "L'Antéchrist à la Renaissance," in *L'Umanesimo e li demoniaco, Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Umanistici,* edited Enrico Castelli (Rome: Fratelli Bocca Editori, 1952), pp. 177–86. For Savonarola as an apocalyptic preacher, see Donald Weinstein, "Millenarianism in a Civic Setting: The Savonarola Movement in Florence," in *Millennial Dreams in Action,* edited Sylvia Thrupp (New York: Schocken, 1970), pp. 187–203.

62. A. Vasiliev, *Byzantion* 16 (1942–43): 497–500.

63. Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 6, fol. 270v. See also Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 20.7, *CCL* 48:709.

64. In *De temporum ratione,* 71, *PL* 90:576–78, Bede compares the ages of the world to Passion week. The seventh and eighth ages correspond to the seventh and eighth day when Christ, after the Crucifixion, rested on Holy Saturday and then rose on Easter Sunday. Jean Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1956), pp. 262–86, traces the development in the early church of the relationship between the Resurrection, the eighth day, and the ages of the world. He quotes a sermon on the octave of Easter

by Augustine that argues the relationship between the first day (Sunday) and the eighth (p. 281).

65. Ælfric, *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis,* ed. S. J. Crawford, EETS 160 (1922), p. 70. For the standard view that the Sabbath symbolizes eternal life, see Bede, *In principium Genesis, CCL* 118A:39.

66. Bonaventure, *Collationes,* 15.18, translated José de Vinck, *Works of Bonaventure* (Paterson, N.J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1970), pp. 224–25.

67. *Epistle of Barnabas,* ed. and trans. James A. Kleist, pp. 59–60. See also Lactantius, *Institutiones,* 7.14, *CSEL* 19:629–30; Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone,* 80, *PG* 6:667–70; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses,* 5.33.2–5.35.1, ed. Harvey, 2:416–23. Jean Daniélou discusses early Christian expectations of the millennium in his "La typologie millenariste de la semaine dans le Christianisme primitif," *Vigiliae Christianae* 2 (1948): 1–16; and in his *Theology of Jewish Christianity,* pp. 377–404.

68. Norman Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium,* 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 15, 37–70, 81. It was popularly assumed that Christians would control Jerusalem before the appearance of Antichrist. See Nicholas of Lyra on Ezek. 38:12 and 38:8: "Quia ante adventum Antichristi Christiani de pluribus terris venient in Iudaeam, et capient eam, et ibi pacifice habitabunt ad tempus, et postea quasi subito veniet Antichristus." *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 264r.

69. For the Last World Emperor, see Marjorie Reeves, "Joachimist Influences on the Idea of a Last World Emperor," *Traditio* 17 (1961): 323–70; Frans Kampers, *Die deutsche Kaiseridee in Prophetie und Sage* (Munich, 1896; reprint ed., 1969), pp. 65–128; and Carl Erdmann, "Endkaiserglaube und Kreuzzugsgedanke im 11. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 51 (1932): 384–414.

70. Honorius of Autun, *Gemma animae,* 3.134, *PL* 172:679.

71. See Morton Bloomfield, "Joachim of Flora: A Critical Survey of his Canon, Teachings, Sources, Biography and Influence," *Traditio* 13 (1957): 249–311; Herbert Grundmann, *Studien über Joachim von Fiore* (1927; reprint ed., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966); Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages;* Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (London: Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, 1976); Reeves and Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972); Reeves and Hirsch-Reich, "The Seven Seals in the Writings of Joachim of Fiore," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 21 (1954): 211-47f; Henri de

Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale,* pt. 2, vol. 1, pp. 437–58; E. R. Daniel, "Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades," *Traditio* 25 (1969): 127–54; Bernard McGinn, "The Abbot and the Doctors: Scholastic Reactions to the Radical Eschatology of Joachim of Fiore," *Church History* 40 (1971): 30–47. These and other articles are collected in Delno C. West, *Joachim of Fiore in Christian Thought: Essays on the Influence of the Calabrian Prophet,* 2 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1975).

72. The reference to Rome, Reeves notes, is probably to the empire rather than to the church, as most scholars have thought. See *The Influence of Prophecy,* pp. 6–11. On Joachim's trinitarian view of history, see pp. 16–25. See also Reeves, *Prophetic Future,* p. 22.

73. On the "spiritual men," see Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy,* pp. 135–44. Joachim also identifies each *status* with a separate "order." See his *Concordia novi ac veteris testamenti* (Venice, 1519; reprint ed., Frankfurt, 1964), fol. 56v. Joachim's three most important works are now available in modern reprints. In addition to the *Concordia,* see *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Venice, 1527; reprint ed., Frankfurt, 1964); and *Psalterium decem chordarum* (Venice, 1527; reprint ed., Frankfurt, 1965).

74. Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy,* p. 304.

75. On the *Evangelium aeternum,* see Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy,* pp. 59–62. On the spiritual leader and the "Angelic Pope," see pp. 304–5, 417–21. Bernard McGinn notes that Joachim in his *Expositio de prophetia ignota Romae reperta* assigns "a unique role to the pope in the final eschatological drama," although Joachim did not develop "a full-fledged theory of the *pastor angelicus.* . . ." See "Joachim and the Sibyl: An Early Work of Joachim of Fiore from Ms. 322 of the Biblioteca Antoniana in Padua," *Cîteaux Commentarii Cistercienses* 24 (1973): 127. Joachim's authorship of the *Expositio de prophetia ignota* is disputed, but McGinn argues convincingly for its authenticity (pp. 99–102). On Joachim's genuine and spurious works, see Appendix A, *Influence of Prophecy,* pp. 511-24.

76. Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy,* pp. 82–95. See also Morton Bloomfield and Marjorie Reeves, "The Penetration of Joachism into Northern Europe," *Speculum* 29 (1954): 777.

77. Deschamps, balade 371, *Chançons royaulx, Œuvres complètes,* SATF 9, 3:121, lines 17–20.

78. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition,* vol. 1: *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100–600),* pp. 126, 131.

79. Beatus, *Ad Elipandum epistola,* 2.16, *PL* 96:987–88.

80. Pseudo-Alcuin, *In Apocalypsin,* 4, *PL* 100:1,125.

81. Agobard of Lyons, *De Iudaicis superstitionibus,* 19, *PL* 104:94.

82. Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum,* 4, *CSEL* 70:5–6.

83. Athanasius, *The Life of Saint Anthony,* 69, trans. R. T. Meyer, Ancient Christian Writers, 10 (1950). See for the identification of specific heresies and heretics as Antichrists, Polycarp, *Ad Philippenses,* 7, *PG* 5:1,011; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses,* 5.26, 2:394; Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem,* 3, ed. Ernest Evans (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 1.8; Origen, *Commentariorum series,* 47, *PG* 13:1,669; Jerome, *Dialogus contra Luciferianos,* 28, *PL* 23:190; Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 263v. For the belief in three major persecutions, see Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum,* 9, *CCL* 97:107 and Peter Lombard, *Commentarius in Psalmos, PL* 191:141.

84. Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 6, fol. 230r.

85. See, for example, Peter Damian, *De novissimis et Antichristo,* 2, *PL* 145:838. In the later Middle Ages, commentators often collected several quotations from earlier Christian writers concerning Antichrist. Gregory, Isidore, and Bede are also commonly quoted.

86. Augustine, *In epistolam Ioannis ad Parthos,* 3.9, *PL* 35:2,002. See also *De civitate Dei,* 20.30, *CCL* 48:757–58 and *In Iohannis evangelium,* 29.8, *CCL* 36. Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo,* although it emphasizes that Antichrist is a historical figure expected at the end of the world, begins by noting that in the contemporary world "there are many Antichrists." See Ernst Sackur, ed., *Sibyllinische Texte,* pp. 105–6.

87. Beatus, *Ad Elipandum epistola,* 2.6, *PL* 96:981.

88. Henri du Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale,* pt. 2, vol. 1, p. 548.

89. Alvarus of Cordova, *Indiculus luminosus,* 21, *PL* 121:535–36. On Alvarus, see de Lubac, pt. 2, vol. 1, pp. 547–48; and R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 21–26. On John of Damascus, see Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition,* vol. 2: *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600–1700)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 230.

90. For Innocent III, see Southern, *Western Views of Islam,* p. 42, n. 10. For Joachim's views of the Saracens, see *Expositio in Apocalypsim,* fols. 154r–156r; and *De septem sigillis,* edited Reeves and Hirsch-Reich, *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 21 (1954): 242: "Sed et bella Saracenorum ortu sunt sub hoc tempore quarto secundum quod in eadem parte quarta ostenditur in specie bestie ascendentis de abysso habentis capita VII et cornua X." Roger Bacon, like Innocent III, also interpreted the number of the beast, 666, as the number of years Mohammedanism would rule before being destroyed by God. See *Opus Majus,* ed. Bridges, 1:266.

91. *Les faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet,* ed. Noel Dupue, SATF 84 (1936), "La complainte de Grece," pp. 17–18. See also the Middle High German poem by Meister Sigeher (ca. 1252–68), ed. F. W. and E. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter: 1250–1450* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1971), 2:128; and *Cursor Mundi,* ed. Morris, vol. 4, EETS 66 (1877), lines 22,225, 22,347.

92. Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy,* pp. 306–19, and throughout. See also the letter of Gregory IX, in *Epistolae saeculi XIII,* ed. G. H. Pertz, vol. 1, *MGH* (Berlin, 1883), no. 750. Malcolm Lambert describes a drawing (MS Vatican Lat. 3822, fol. 5r) that identifies the seventh head of the dragon with Frederick II. See *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1976), p. 193, plate 6. See also the extracts edited in "Frederick II versus the Papacy," in McGinn, *Visions of the End,* pp. 168–79.

93. On Jean de Roquetaillade, see Jeanne Bignani-Odier, *Études sur Jean de Roquetaillade* (Paris: Librarie Philosophique, 1952). On *Vade mecum in tribulatione,* see pp. 157–72. See also Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy,* pp. 320–24; *Prophetic Future,* pp. 67–68; "Joachimist Influences on the Idea of the Last World Emperor," pp. 328–29; and E. F. Jacob, *Essays in Later Medieval History* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968), pp. 175–94.

94. See Penn R. Szittya, " 'Caimes Kynde': The Friars and the Exegetical Origins of Medieval Antifraternalism" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1971), p. 34; and Szittya, "The Antifraternal Tradition in Middle English Literature," *Speculum* 52 (1977): 287–313. See also M.-M. Dufeil, *Guillaume de Saint-Amour et la polémique universitaire Parisienne, 1250–1259* (Paris: A & J Picard, 1972).

95. Ubertino da Casale, *Arbor vite crucifixe Jesu* (Venice, 1485), vol. 8, fols. 232v–235r. On Ubertino and other Franciscan spirituals, see John V. Fleming, *An Introduction to the Franciscan Literature of the Middle Ages* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1977), pp. 230–34. On Pietro Olivi, see Brian Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility, 1150–1350: A Study on the Concepts of Infallibility, Sovereignty and Tradition in the Middle Ages,* Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 4 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1952), p. 105; and Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967), 1:100–39. Bernard McGinn traces the polemical identification of Antichrist with specific popes in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in "Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist," *Church History* 47 (1978):155–73. He notes that, like Joachim, Olivi expected two Antichrists; the *mysticus,* who would be like Simon Magus, and the *magnus,* who would be like Nero (p. 166).

96. See Lambert, *Medieval Heresy,* p. 202. On Michael of Cesena, see Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility,* p. 197.

97. Bernard Gui, *Practica inquisitionis heretice,* ed. and trans. Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages,* Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, 81 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), pp. 424–27.

98. For Canons of Utrech, see *Heresies of the High Middle Ages,* ed. and trans. Wakefield and Evans, p. 98. See also Lambert, *Medieval Heresy,* pp. 55–57. On Ademar, see *Chronique,* 3.49, in *Heresies of the High Middle Ages,* p. 74.

99. See Wakefield and Evans, eds. and trans., *Heresies of the High Middle Ages,* p. 260.

100. Matthew of Janov, *Regulae veteris et novi testamenti,* 3.5.7, ed. Kybal, vol. 3 (Prague, 1911), p. 25. On Matthew's identification of Antichrist as false Christians, see *Regulae* 3.5.1, pp. 1–6, and 3.5.6, pp. 22–23. On the comparison between the church of Christ and of Antichrist, see *Regulae* 3.5.8, pp. 28–31.

101. "Quoniam iterum et amplius conparative magna quidem est iniquitas mendacium et aliud quodlibet peccatum *layci* vel alterius rudis plebei in dei ecclesia; maior autem est iniquitas viri *religiosi* ac maior amplius omnis *sacerdotis* et amplius *episcopi* et maxima *patriarche* et domini *cardinalis* tocius ecclesie; super hec domini *pape* supermaxima est iniquitas si est pertinax." *Regulae,* 3.5.9, p. 33.

102. Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. 40. On Huss and his followers, see also Matthew Spinka, ed. and trans., *John Hus at the Council of Constance,* Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, 73 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. 107–108, 188, 209, 263, 278; and Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium,* pp. 206–14.

103. Howard Kaminsky et al., eds., *Master Nicholas of Dresden: The Old Color and the New,* Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 55, pt. 1 (1965), p. 63.

104. "Þe Gospel of Many Martris," edited Thomas Arnold, *Select English Works of John Wyclif* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1869), 1:209. For other Wyclifite writings on Antichrist, see throughout Arnold's edition and also *The English Works of Wyclif, Hitherto Unprinted,* edited F. D. Matthew, EETS 74 (1880).

105. Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages,* 2:520. On Wyclif, see Leff, 2:494–558.

106. "On the Twenty-five Articles," edited Arnold, *Select English Works of John Wyclif,* 3:454–96.

107. As argued by R. W. Frank, Jr., in discussing *Piers Plowman:* "Although doctrinally the appearance of Antichrist was a sign of approaching Doomsday, by the fourteenth century 'Antichrist' had become a mere term of abuse." Frank, *Piers Plowman and the Scheme of Salvation: An Interpretation of Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), pp. 111–12.

108. "Þe Seven Werkys of Mercy Bodyly," ed. Arnold, *Select English Works of John Wyclif,* 3: 172. The Lollard "Of the Leaven of Pharisees" (ca. 1383) considers the friars precursors of Antichrist and "of fiftene tokenes bifore domes-day. . . "; see Matthew, ed., *The English Works of Wyclif,* EETS 74 (1880), p. 19.

Chapter 3

1. Origen, *Contra Celsum,* 6.79, *PG* 11:1,418. For examples of parallel comparisons drawn between Antichrist and Christ, see Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 327v; vol. 6, fols. 120r, 270v.

2. *Pseudo-Clementine Homily 2,* 22.7, *NTA* 2:547.

3. The passage on Simon Magus is an interpolation into one of Wulfstan's genuine homilies, "De Temporibus Antichristi" (IV). It is taken from the *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli.* See Arthur Napier, ed., *Wulfstan: Sammlung* (Berlin, 1883; reprint ed., Dublin: Weidmann, 1967), pp. 98–101.

4. Origen, *Commentariorum series,* 33, *PG* 13:1,645. Origen often contrasts Christ and Antichrist: "Puto autem quia non solum est sermo Christus, est et sermo Antichristus; veritas Christus, et simulata veritas Antichristus; sapientia Christus, et simulata sapientia Antichristus. . . . Quoniam omnes species boni quascunque habet Christus in se in veritate ad aedificationem hominum, eas omnes habet in se diabolus in specie ad seductionem sanctorum."*PG* 13:1,644–45.

5. Isidore, *Etymologiarum libri XX* (Strassburg, 1473), fol. 63v. Isidore is influenced by Augustine, *In epistolam Ioannis ad Parthos,* 3.4, *PL* 35:1,999.

6. On Ælfric, see his English "Preface" to the first series of *Catholic Homilies,* ed. Benjamin Thorpe, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (London: Ælfric Society, 1844), pp. 2–6. On Wulfstan, see "De septiformi spiritu," ed. Dorothy Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), p. 189.

7. "Hic est Christus, qui sanguinem suum fudit. Hic est Antichristus, qui sanguinem fudit alienum." Rupert of Deutz, *In Ioannis Apocalypsin* (Nuremberg, 1526), p. 377. For other descriptions of the contrary nature of Antichrist, see Hippolytus, *De Antichristo*, 6, *CSCO* 264:57; Cyprian, *Epistula*, 71.2, *CSEL* 3–2:773; Jerome, *In Hieremiam prophetam*, 4.45.3, *CCL* 74:216; Julian of Toledo, *Prognosticon*, 3.5, *PL* 96:499; Haimo, *In Zachariam prophetam*, 11, *PL* 117:261; Bruno of Segni, *In Matthaeum*, 4.99, *PL* 165:270. See also Arnold of Villanova, *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi*, in Finke, p. cxxxvii: "Nam Christus est dominus et alius latro, Christus est pastor et alius lupus, Christus custos et alius fur, Christus est sponsus et amicus, alius vero adulter, et inimicus." These detailed contrasts between Antichrist and Christ are continued in the polemics of the later Middle Ages when the contrasts are used to condemn the papacy. See especially Nicholas of Dresden, ed. Howard Kaminsky et al., *Master Nicholas of Dresden: The Old Color and the New*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 55, pt. 1 (1965).

8. Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo*, ed. Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1898), pp. 99–113; translated in John Wright, *The Play of Antichrist* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1967), pp. 100–10. D. Verhelst edits the varying medieval versions of the *Libellus* in *Adso Dervensis, De ortu et tempore Antichristi, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 45 (1976). On Adso see Robert Konrad, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi: Antichristvorstellung und Geschichtsbild des Abtes Adso von Montier-en-Der*, Münchener historische Studien Abteilung mittelalterliche Geschichte (Kallmuenz, Opf.: Lassleben, 1964); Maurizio Rangheri, "La 'Epistola ad Gerbergam reginam de ortu et tempore Antichristi' di Adsone di Montier-en-Der e le sue fonti," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 14 (1973): 677–732; and Richard K. Emmerson, "The Coming of Antichrist: An Apocalyptic Tradition in Medieval Literature" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1977), pp. 105–41.

9. See Emmerson, "Antichrist as Anti-Saint: The Significance of Abbot Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo*," *American Benedictine Review* 30 (1979): 175–90.

10. Hugh of Strassburg, *Compendium*, published under Albertus Magnus, *Compendium theologicae veritatis* (Venice: Simon Bevilagna, 1492). Also edited by S. A. Borgnet, *Albertus Magnus, Opera omnia*, 34 (Paris, 1896). Also Hugh of Newcastle, *Tractatus de victoria Christi contra Antichristum* (Nuremberg, 1471). For his works, see C. V. Langlois,

"Hugo de Novocastro or de Castronovo, Frater Minor," *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout,* ed. A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester, 1927), pp. 269–75.

11. Pseudo-Alcuin, *In Apocalypsin, PL* 100:1,148.

12. "Tabernaculum antichristi est amor perfidiae, quo fidei contradicit redemptoris. In quo nimirum tabernaculo iudaei nunc permanent: quia, dum perfidiae suae situm amanter inhabitant, contra redemptorem pugnant." Gregory, *In primum Regum,* 1.92, *CCL* 144:107–8. On the Tortosa Jewry Oath, see J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944), p. 32.

13. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo,* 8.3, *PL* 111:228. On Dan, see Ambrose, *De benedictionibus patriarcharum,* 7.32, *PL* 14: 717; Hippolytus, *De Antichristo,* 14, *CSCO* 264:60; Gregory, *Moralia,* 31.24.43, *PL* 76:596; *Glossa,* vol. 1, fol. 118r-118v; vol. 6, fol. 114v. See also R. H. Charles, *Eschatology: The Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism and Christianity,* 2nd ed. (1913; reprint ed., New York: Schocken, 1963), p. 234, on *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.* On Dan in Jewish expectations, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing, 1971), 5:1,258–59; *Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1903), 4:423; and *Midrash Rabbah,* trans. H. Freedman (London: Soncino Press, 1939), *Genesis,* 2:906. Discussing Genesis 49:9, the *Midrash* explains: "This alludes to Messiah the son of David who was descended from two tribes, his father being from Judah and his mother from Dan. . . ."

14. Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses,* 5.30.2, ed. Harvey, 2:409. Richard of Saint Victor states: "Dan, de cujus genere Antichristus nascetur, in numero signatorum praemittitur, ut per hoc ostendatur quod Antichristus de coetu sanctorum ejictur." *In Apocalypsim, PL* 196:772. For the allegorical interpretation of the viper and lion, see Pseudo-Bede, *De sex dierum creatione, PL* 93:233.

15. Jerome, *De Antichristo in Danielem, CCL* 75A:918. See also Haimo, *Expositio in epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 117:780. The thirteenth-century *Prophecies de Merlin* emphasize the relationship between Antichrist and Babylon. Its "prophecy" of the birth of Antichrist—called the Dragon of Babylon—predicts that three kings, seeing the sign of the Dragon in the heavens, will journey to Babylon to present gifts to Antichrist. See *Les Prophecies de Merlin,* ed. Lucy Allen Paton (New York: Modern Language Association, 1926), 2:201–206. For the symbolic interpretation of Babylon in the later Middle Ages, see Wolfgang Beinert, *Die Kirche: Gottes Heil in der Welt,* Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philoso-

phie und Theologie des Mittelalters, n.f. 13 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1973), p. 185.

16. See Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, p. 7. But Reeves notes that to Joachim, Rome equals Babylon (see p. 13). In the work of anti-papal polemicists, Babylon is often equated with Rome. See Nicholas of Dresden, ed. Howard Kaminsky et al., *The Old Color and the New*, p. 63: "Babilon est Roma."

17. *Pseudo-Methodius*, ed. Sackur, p. 93. See also Honorius of Autun, *Elucidarium* 3.10, *PL* 172:1,163. For an old Armenian Antichrist legend that identifies Chorozaim as Antichrist's birthplace, see Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, p. 255.

18. Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo*, ed. Sackur, pp. 106–7. Adso's attempts to reconcile the two views of Antichrist's birthplace are typical of his work. Not all scholars agree with Sackur's argument that this version shows Adso to be unaware of the *Pseudo-Methodius*.

19. Hugh, *Tractatus*, 1:4. See also William of Saint Amour, *De Antichristo et eius ministris*, 3.2, published under the name of Nicolas Oresme, ed. Edmund Martene and Ursini Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum* (Paris, 1724; reprint ed., New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), 9:1,371.

20. *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. P. Hamelius, EETS 153–54 (1919–23), 1:73.

21. See Charlotte D'Evelyn, "The Middle-English Metrical Version of the *Revelations* of Methodius," *PMLA* 33 (1918): 190. D'Evelyn quotes Magdalene College, Oxford, MS LIII, p. 210: "Antichristus nascetur autem in Corozaim que est civitas magna scilicet babilonia."

22. Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo*, ed. Sackur, p. 106. Eustache Deschamps, "Balade d'Antecrist" (no. 1,164) describes Antichrist's father as a monk. See *Œuvres complètes*, SATF 9 (1878–93), 6:103. See also the description of Antichrist's birth in the *Pseudo-Ephrem*, ed. C. P. Caspari, *Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten aus den Zwei letzten Jahrhunderten des kirchlichen Alterthums und dem Anfang des Mittelalters* (Christiania, 1890), pp. 215–16.

23. Adso, *Libellus*, ed. Sackur, pp. 106–7. Followed closely by Rupert of Deutz, *In Ioannis Apocalypsin*, 8 (Nuremberg, 1526), p. 350. For the belief that Antichrist is devil possessed, see Nicholas, *Glossa*, vol. 4, fol. 48v: "Antichristus vero erit totaliter a daemone obsessus, et opera eius fient virtute daemonis. . . ."

24. *Jour du Jugement*, ed. Emile Roy, *Le Jour du Jugement: Mystère*

français sur le Grand Schisme, Études sur le théâtre français au xiv[e] siècle (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1902), lines 193–455. For an early Christian view of Antichrist's devilish conception, see Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogus* 1.41, *CSEL* 1:197.

25. *De l'avenement Antecrist,* ed. E. Walberg, *Deux versions inédites de la légende de l'antéchrist en vers français du xiii[e] siècle* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1928), lines 34–35. A similar idea is developed in Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme,* except that the incestuous relationship between the devil and his daughter (Pecche) results in the birth of Death (Mort). Pecche and Mort then together conceive the Seven Deadly Sins. See Macaulay, ed., *Complete Works of John Gower,* vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1899–1902), lines 205–37.

26. Haimo, *Expositio in epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 117:779; Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo,* ed. Sackur, p. 110; Peter Lombard, *In epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 192:317. See also Origen, *Contra Celsum,* 6.45, *PG* 11:1,367, 1,370; Hilary, *Commentarius in Matthaeum,* 26.2, *PL* 9:1,056–57.

27. Both Wulfstan and Ælfric call Antichrist "mennisc mann and soð deofol" and "se gesewenlica deofol." Wulfstan identifies him as "þam deofle Antecriste sylfan" and notes that "Antecrist bið soðlice deofol & mann." However, he also follows the standard exegetical explanation that Antichrist "bið mennisc man geboren, ac he bið þeah mid deofles gaste eal afylled." See Wulfstan, *Homilies,* ed. Bethurum, pp. 118, 128, 130, 138. See also *Vercelli Homily,* 2, ed. Max Förster, *Die Vercelli-Homilien I–VIII,* pp. 46–47.

28. Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor, *Quaestiones,* 8, *PL* 175:591. See also Agobard of Lyons, *De fidei veritate et totius boni institutione,* 17, *PL* 104:281; Bede, "De temporibus Antichristi," *De temporum ratione, PL* 90:574; Haimo, *In Apocalypsim,* 4, *PL* 117:1,095. The fact that Antichrist will be destroyed ultimately suggests that he cannot be the devil incarnate, for according to popular medieval belief, demons could not be killed. See Trevisa's comment on Merlin:

> But deth slowe Merlyn,
> Merlyn was ergo no govelyn.

Edited in *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum,* ed. Aaron Jenkins Perry, EETS 167 (1925), p. cxxxiii. The author thanks Professor Fowler for pointing out this passage.

29. Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 20.19, *CCL* 48:732–33. See Firmicus Maternus, *Liber de errore profanarum religionum,* 22.4, *CSEL* 2:112.

30. "Quique cupitis audire," *Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi,* 4.1: *Rhythmi aevi Merovingici et Carolini, MGH* (Berlin, 1914), no. 88, stanza 2.

31. See *Vercelli Homily* 15, ed. Förster, "Die Vercelli-Codex," *Studien zur englischen Philologie* 50 (1913): 116–28. See also *Blickling Homily* 7, ed. Richard Morris, *The Blickling Homilies,* pp. 93–95.

32. Heist, *The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State College Press, 1952), p. 30. Heist states that when there is borrowing between the two legends, the Fifteen Signs usually borrows from the Antichrist tradition (pp. 94–95). One of the earliest examples of the Fifteen Signs is the Pseudo-Bede "De quindecim signis," *PL* 94:555, written in England during the eighth century. On the Signs, see Georg Nölle, "Die Legende vom den Fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gerichte," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 6 (1874): 413–76.

33. See *Entecrist,* ed. Heinrich Hoffmann, *Fundgrüben für Geschichte deutscher Sprache und Litteratur* (Breslau: Aderholz, 1837), 2:106–25; and Berengier, *De l'avenement Antecrist,* ed. E. Walberg, lines 191–254. The *Cursor Mundi* follows a typical arrangement of last-day events. It describes the general tokens of the times (lines 21,847–974), then Antichrist (21,975–2,426), the Fifteen Signs (22,427–710), and Doomsday (22,711–3,194). Ed. Richard Morris, vol. 4, EETS 66 (1877).

34. *Pricke of Conscience,* ed. Richard Morris; the signs and last-day events, pp. 108–10; Antichrist, pp. 110–25; then the Fifteen Signs after a brief period of peace, pp. 125–27. Since both the general signs of the end and the Fifteen Signs include natural disasters and astrological phenomena, they are sometimes confused.

35. *Piers Plowman,* B text, 20, ed. George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson, *Will's Visions of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better and Do-Best* (London: Athlone Press, 1975). See the discussion of *Piers Plowman* in chapter 5 below. See also William of Saint Amour, *De Antichristo et eius ministris,* 2.3, ed. Martene and Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum,* 9:1,341–43.

36. *Pseudo-Ephrem,* ed. Caspari, *Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten,* pp. 211–12. On the problems of dating the Pseudo-Ephrem, see McGinn, *Visions of the End,* p. 60. For other descriptions of the terrors, see Victorinus, *In Apocalypsin,* 6.2, *CSEL* 49:70; Jerome, *In Esaiam,* 6.-13.12, *CCL* 73:231.

37. See Jerome, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem,* 9, *CCL* 75:526–27; Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 20.11, *CCL* 48:720.

38. Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 263v. Matthew of Janov identifies

Gog and Magog with "the infinite multitude of hypocrites in the universal church." *Regulae,* 3.5.5, ed. Kybal, 3:17.

39. *Pseudo-Methodius,* ed. Sackur, pp. 73–74, 91–92. Since the *Pseudo-Methodius* was available in the later Middle Ages in several vernacular verions, its interpretation of Gog and Magog was very influential. See the Middle English *Revelations,* ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn, lines 771–94; and "Methodius: 'Þe Bygynnyng of þe World and þe Ende of Worldes,' " ed. Aaron Jenkins Perry, *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum,* EETS 167 (1925), pp. 108–9.

40. See Andrew Runni Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations,* Publications of the Mediaeval Academy of America, 12 (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1932), p. 19. Typical of the vernacular treatment of Gog and Magog, the *Cursor Mundi* calls them a foul folk imprisoned by Alexander. Ed. Morris, vol. 4, EETS 66 (1877), lines 22,330–52. The *Pricke of Conscience* notes three interpretations of Gog and Magog: (1) a horrible people beyond the Caspian Sea, (2) the hosts of Antichrist, (3) all those who work against Christ. Ed. Morris, lines 4,449–90.

41. *Kyng Alisaunder,* ed. George V. Smithers, EETS 227, 237 (1952–57), vol. 1, text Bodl. MS Laud Misc. 622, lines 5,932–6,287. For illustrations of Gog and Magog in the Alexander legend, see D. J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature,* Warburg Institute Surveys, 1 (London: Warburg Institute, 1963), pp. 34–35.

42. Roger Bacon, *Opus maius,* ed. John Henry Bridges (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897), 1:268–69. For identifications of the Geats with the forces of Gog and Magog, see Jane Acomb Leake, *The Geats of Beowulf: A Study in the Geographical Mythology of the Middle Ages* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), pp. 35–37. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend,* pp. 57–58, notes that the *Pseudo-Ephrem* considers the Huns to be Gog and Magog and also that some early writers identify them with the Goths (pp. 194–95). See also Anderson, *Alexander's Gate,* pp. 9–14.

43. Christian Sibyl II, *NTA* 2:713. See also Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica, PL* 198:1,498.

44. *Mandeville's Travels,* ed. P. Hamelius, EETS 153–54 (1919–23), 1:177.

45. Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 6, fols. 270v–271r.

46. *Pseudo-Methodius,* ed. Sackur, pp. 91–93; *Tiburtine Oracle,* ed. Sackur, pp. 185–86. Hugh of Strassburg discusses Gog and Magog immediately before the appearance of Enoch and Elias. He refers to both

the exegetical and the sibylline versions (*Compendium theologicae veritatis,* 7.11).

47. Marjorie Reeves and Beatrice Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), pp. 150–52, illus. no. 21–22. For an early Christian interpretation that separates Antichrist from Gog and Magog, placing the attack of the nations after the millennium, see Quintus Julius Hilarianus, *Chronologia,* 19, *PL* 13:1,106.

48. See Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend,* p. 48; and Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo,* ed. Sackur, pp. 100–1.

49. Lactantius, *Institutiones,* 7.25, *CSEL* 19:664. See also 7.15, *CSEL* 19:632. Tertullian urges his readers to pray for the empire that keeps back Antichrist; see *Apologeticum,* 32, *CSEL* 69:81.

50. Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 20.23, *CCL* 48:741–43.

51. See Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo,* ed. Sackur, p. 110; *Cursor Mundi,* ed. Morris, vol. 4, EETS 66 (1877), p. 1,272; *Pricke of Conscience,* ed. Morris, pp. 110–11. For later exegetical comments on the necessary decline of Roman power, see Rabanus Maurus, *Expositio in epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 112:571; and Peter Lombard, *In epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 192:317.

52. *Tiburtine Oracle,* ed. Sackur, pp. 185–86. Bousset argues that originally the Last World Emperor was prophesied to rule for 12 years. *The Antichrist Legend,* pp. 48–49. For the continuity of the legend of the Last World Emperor in sibylline literature, see the passages from the *Erythraean Sibyl* edited in McGinn, *Visions of the End,* pp. 123–24.

53. *Ludus de Antichristo,* ed. Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), 1:377.

54. On the great deceit of Antichrist, see *Didache,* 16.1–4, ed. Kleist, p. 24; Gregory, *Moralium,* 34.17.32, *PL* 76:736; Isidore, *Sententiarum,* 1.25.4, *PL* 83:593; Pseudo-Alcuin, *In Apocalypsin,* 4, *PL* 100:1,139. On the false prophets, see Commodian, "De Antechristi Tempore," *CCL* 128:33–34; Gregory, *Moralium,* 33.35–36, *PL* 76:711–12. On Antichrist's pride, blasphemy, and desire to be worshiped as God, see Hippolytus, *De Antichristo,* 57, *CSCO* 264:78–79; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses,* 5.25.1, ed. Harvey, p. 390; Gregory, *Moralium,* 29.8.18, *PL* 76:486. On his successful conversion of the world, see Origen, *Commentariorum series* 33, *PG* 13:1,645; Lactantius, *Institutiones,* 7.17, *CSEL* 19:639; Rufinus of Aquileia, *Expositio symboli,* 32, *CCL* 20:167; Beatus, *In Apocalipsin,* ed. Sanders, p. 243.

55. Gregory, *Moralium,* 36.24.43, *PL* 76:597. On the temple, see Ambrose, *Expositionis in Lucam,* 10.15, *PL* 15:1,900; Beatus, *Ad Elipandum*

epistola, 2.102, *PL* 96:1,028; *Pseudo-Ephrem,* ed. Caspari, pp. 216–17; *Pseudo-Methodius,* ed. Sackur, p. 95. For the Jewish acceptance of Antichrist, see Victorinus, *In Apocalypsin,* 2.2, *CSEL* 49:36; Jerome, *De Antichristo, CCL* 75A:918; Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 117:779–80; Bruno of Segni, *In Ioannem,* 1.15, *PL* 165:492. For the circumcision, see *Pseudo-Ephrem,* ed. Caspari, p. 217; Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo,* ed. Sackur, p. 107.

56. On the methods Antichrist employs to gain power, see Haimo, *Expositio in Apocalypsin, PL* 117:1,073; Alcuin, *De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis,* 3.19, *PL* 101:51; Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo,* ed. Sackur, pp. 108–9; Honorius of Autun, *Elucidarium,* 3.10, *PL* 172:1,163; Hugh of Strassburg, *Compendium,* 7.9; and Vincent Ferrer, "De Antichristo," ed. Brettle, *San Vicente Ferrer,* p. 178. Vincent Ferrer states: "Antichristus habebit quadruplicem modum. Primus modus donorum. Secundus falsorum miraculorum. Tercius disputacionum. Quartus tormentorum."

57. Isidore, *Sententiarum,* 1.24.3–4, *PL* 83:592. Isidore may be alluding to 1 Cor. 14: 22. William of Saint Amour underscores the cessation of miracles in the church as one of the signs of Antichrist. See *De Antichristo,* 1.10, ed. Martene and Durand, 9:1,312–13.

58. Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo,* ed. Sackur, p. 108. Antichrist's miracles are often illustrated in medieval art. See chapter 4.

59. Ælfric, "Sermo de die iudicii," ed. John C. Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection,* EETS 259, 260 (1967–68), 2:605–6. See also Bede, *In Marcum, CCL* 120:598–601.

60. *Glossa,* vol. 6, fol. 115r: "Quia per magicam artem non veram, sed per phantasiam deludet homines, sicut Simon Magus quendam qui se eum occidere putans, arietem decollavit." See also Honorius of Autun, *Elucidarium,* 3.10, *PL* 172: 1,163; and the *Cursor Mundi,* ed. Morris, vol. 4, EETS 66 (1877), lines 22,159–62:

> Wiþ iogolori þai salle be wroȝt
> & fantum be & ellis noȝt.
> as simon magus did in his quile
> riȝt squa salle he þe folk be-gile.

61. Bernardino of Siena, "De Christianae fidei firmitate," *Opera omnia,* vol. 1 (Florence: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1950), p. 16; and Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae,* pars prima, Q. 114, Art. 4, *Opera omnia,* 1:438. See also Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor, *Quaestiones,* 12, *PL* 175:592; Saint Hildegard, *Scivias,* 3.11, *PL* 197:717–18.

62. *Pricke of Conscience,* ed. Morris, p. 118, lines 4,325–32.

63. Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 20.19, *CCL* 48:732–33. Berengaudus follows Augustine closely; see *Super septem visiones libri Apocalypsis, PL* 17:970. Nicholas of Lyra explains that God gives permission for Antichrist's miracles, *Glossa,* vol. 5, fol. 74v.

64. ". . . nam aliquae fient per illusionem sensuum a daemone, quae videbuntur esse et non erunt, et aliquae erunt res verae, sicut daemon super oves Iob fecit ignem verum descendere." Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 6, fol. 114v.

65. On Antichrist's pretensions of holiness, see Gregory, *Moralium,* 25.16.34, *PL* 76:343; *Pseudo-Ephrem,* ed. Caspari, p. 216; Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 325v, vol. 6, fol. 120r. On Antichrist's great power, see *Didache,* 16.1–4, ed. Kleist, p. 24; Jerome, *De Antichristo, CCL* 75A:929, 940–41; Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum,* 9.20, *CCL* 97:104; Gregory, *Moralium,* 32.15.22, *PL* 76:648–49.

66. Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 18.52, *CCL* 48:650; 20.19, *CCL* 48:732. See also Commodian, "De Antechristi Tempore," *CCL* 128:33–34; Otto of Freising, *Historia de duabus civitatibus,* 3.45, ed. Hofmeister, p. 179.

67. On Antichrist's persecution, see Hippolytus, *De Antichristo,* 59, *CSCO,* 264:80; Hilary, *In Matthaeum,* 14.14, *PL* 9:1,002; Isidore, *Sententiarum,* 1.25.5, *PL* 83:593; Pseudo-Alcuin, *In Apocalypsin,* 2, *PL* 100:1,112; Hildegard, *Scivias,* 3.11, *PL* 197:716. On the mark of Antichrist, see Cassiodorus, *In Apocalypsin,* 19, *PL* 70:1,412; *Pseudo-Ephrem,* ed. Caspari, p. 218.

68. Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 266r. See also John Chrysostom, *In epistolam secundam ad Thessalonicenses,* 4, *PG* 62:487; Isidore, *Sententiarum,* 1.25.9, *PL* 83:594.

69. Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 20.19, *CCL* 48:732. Berengaudus, *Expositio in Apocalypsin, PL* 17:969.

70. Ælfric, "Homily for First Sunday in Lent," ed. Thorpe, vol. 2, Homily 7. The source of the discussion of Elias is Gregory's Homily 16 (*PL* 76:1,137), which does not mention Enoch and Antichrist. For the *Interrogationes,* see George E. MacLean, "Ælfric's Version of *Alcuini Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesim,*" *Anglia* 7 (1884): 11. For *On the Old and New Testament,* see Crawford, ed., *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis,* EETS 160 (1922), p. 23.

71. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg:Anton Koberger, 1493), fol. l.

72. Lactantius, *Institutiones,* 7.17, *CSEL* 19: 638–39.

73. See Justin Martyr, *Dialogus,* 49, *PG* 6:583; Commodian, "De An-

techristi tempore," *CCL* 128:33–34; Victorinus, *In Apocalypsin,* 7, CSEL 49:80; Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 20.29, *CCL* 48:752–53.

74. *Muspilli,* ed. Charles C. Barber, *An Old High German Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964), pp. 79–82, 153–56.

75. Beatus, *In Apocalipsin,* ed. Sanders. p. 448. The ambiguity of Beatus' identification of the two witnesses is reflected in an illustrated Beatus Apocalypse, Madrid, Bibl. nac., Vitr. 14–1. The inscription on its portrayal of the two witnesses identifies them as "duo testes elias et jheremias" (fol. 104r). See Peter K. Klein, *Der ältere Beatus-Kodex Vitr. 14–1 der Biblioteca Nacional zu Madrid: Studien zur Beatus-Illustration und der spanischen Buchmalerei des 10. Jahrhunderts,* Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, 8 (Hildesheim: George Olms Verlag, 1976), vol. 2, illus. 49.

76. *Apocalypse of Peter,* 2, *NTA* 2:669; Tertullian, *De anima,* 50, *PL* 2:780; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses,* ed. Harvey, 2:330; Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel,* 4.35, Sources Chrétiennes, 14:335; Gregory, *Moralium,* 15.58.69, *PL* 75:1,117; Pseudo-Isidore of Seville, *De ortu et obitu patrum,* 3, *PL* 83:131–32.

77. Rabanus Maurus, *In Ecclesiasticum,* 10.3, *PL* 109:1,084; *The Middle English Genesis and Exodus,* ed. Olof Arngart, Lund Studies in English, 36 (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1968), lines 503–10. See also the *Book of Enoch,* ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), pp. 59–61.

78. See Gerhard Schmidt, *Die Armenbibeln des XIV Jahrhunderts* (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus, 1959), plate 36b.

79. For medieval concepts of the Earthly Paradise, see A. Bartlett Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), esp. pp. 67–83. Giamatti notes that in the Middle Ages some commentators thought of the Earthly Paradise as "a symbol of the celestial home of the souls," whereas others thought of it as an actual earthly place (p. 15). The Antichrist tradition usually follows the latter view.

80. Joachim, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Venice, 1527; reprint ed. Frankfurt, 1964), fol. 24v. For Bruno of Segni, see *Expositio in Apocalypsin, PL* 165:662.

81. Ubertino da Casale, *Arbor vite crucifixe Jesu* (Venice, 1485), 5.8, fols. 229r–230r. See also Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy,* pp. 147–48, 176, 228.

82. *Regulae,* 3.5.4 and 3.11.6, ed. Kybal, 3:14, 355.

83. *Cursor Mundi,* ed. Morris, vol. 4, EETS 66 (1877), lines 22,361–74.

84. See "Quique cupitis audire," *Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi,* 4.1:

Rhythmi aevi Merovingici et Carolini, MGH (Berlin, 1914), no. 88, pp. 644–46; and "De Enoch et Haeliae," ibid., no. 13, pp. 491–95; *Parliament of Three Ages,* ed. M. Y. Offord, EETS 246 (1959), lines 334–36; and *Land of Cokaygne,* ed. J. A. W. Bennett and G. V. Smithers, *Early Middle English Verse and Prose,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), lines 13–16. For the location of Elias while awaiting Antichrist, see Gregory, *Homelia,* 29, *PL* 76:1,216–17.

85. "Ego sum Enoch, qui verbo domini translatus sum huc; iste autem qui mecum est Elias Thesbites est, qui curru igneo assumptus est. Hic et usque nunc non gustavimus mortem, sed in adventum Antichristi reservati sumus, divinis signis et prodigiis praeliaturi cum eo, et ab eo occisi in Ierusalem, post triduum et dimidium diei iterum vivi in nubibus assumendi." *Descensus Christi ad inferos* (Latine A), 9.25, ed. Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha,* pp. 404–5.

86. On Joachimist expectations concerning the conversion of the Jews, see Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy,* pp. 47, 77, 237. Robert E. Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints: The Time After Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought," *Traditio* 32 (1976): 134–35, shows that several later medieval commentators expect the Jews to be converted after the destruction of Antichrist.

87. *Apocalypse of Peter,* 2, *NTA* 2:669. See also Jerome, *In Esaiam,* 5.23.18, *CCL* 73:222; Gregory, *Homilia in Hiezechihelem,* 1.12.6, *CCL* 142:186; Hugh of Saint Victor, *De sacramentis Christianae fidei,* 2.17.6, *PL* 176:598.

88. Ælfric, "Nativity of John the Baptist," ed. Thorpe, *Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church,* 2:356. Ælfric follows Bede's Homily 2 (*CCL* 122:326), except that Bede does not refer to Antichrist. See also the Middle English *Ormulum,* ed. R. M. White (Oxford, 1852), vol. 1, lines 855–60, which explains John the Baptist's significance by comparing him to Elias, who will come again before Christ's Second Advent.

89. Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 20.29, *CCL* 48:752–53.

90. Commodian, "De Antechristi tempore," *CCL* 128:33–34; Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel,* 4.35.50, Sources Chrétiennes, 14, pp. 335, 367.

91. "Nota igitur, quod Antichristus primo veniet in benignitate, et miraculorum operatione: et tunc a Judaeis suscipietur, qui ei specialiter adhaerebunt: ad quorum conversionem venient Elias et Henoch, et tunc Antichristus in apertam persecutionem consurget." Hugh of Strassburg, *Compendium theologicae veritatis,* 7.10, ed. Borgnet, *Albertus Magnus, Opera omnia,* 34:243. Hugh notes that Enoch and Elias will con-

vert the Jews (7.12) and that after Antichrist's death they will be once again converted (7.14).

92. See Jerome, *In Esaiam,* 8.25.6–8, *CCL* 73:327; Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 48v; marginal commentary of *Glossa,* vol. 6, fol. 115r; and *Pricke of Conscience,* ed. Morris, lines 4,600–4,604.

93. Verona poem on Antichrist (ca. 1251), ed. E. Walberg, *Deux versions inédites de la légende de l'antéchrist en vers français du xiii[e] siècle* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1928), lines 225–32. See also the Chester *Coming of Antichrist,* ed. Lumiansky and Mills, *The Chester Mystery Cycle,* EETS SS 3 (1974), lines 653–60.

94. *Pseudo-Methodius,* ed. Sackur, p. 96. See also Cyprian, *De pascha computus,* 14, *CSEL* 3–3:262; Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 20.12, *CCL* 48:721; *Pseudo-Ephrem,* ed. Caspari, p. 220.

95. Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo,* ed. Sackur, p. 113; Hugh of Newcastle, *Tractatus de victoria Christi contra Antichristum,* 2:11; Alcuin, *De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, PL* 101:51.

96. See Isaiah 11:4 and Apoc. 19:15. On Christ's divine command, see Rabanus Maurus, *In epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 112:572.

97. Berengier, *De l'avenement Antecrist,* ed. Walberg, line 152. See also Thomas Aquinas, *In epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses,* 2, *Opera omnia,* 13:576; Matthew of Janov, *Regulae,* 3.5.5, ed. Kybal, 3:20. The Reformation interpretation of the "spirit" resembles that of Matthew.

98. *King Solomon's Book of Wisdom,* ed. F. J. Furnivall, *Adam Davy's Dreams,* EETS 69 (1878), p. 90. See also Rupert of Deutz, *De victoria verbi Dei,* 13.14, *PL* 169:1,496–97.

99. Bede, "De temporibus Antichristi," *De temporum ratione, PL* 90:574; Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo,* ed. Sackur, pp. 112–13. See also the *Legenda aurea,* ed. T. Graesse, *Jacobi a Voragine: Legenda aurea* (1890; reprint ed. Osnabruck: Otto Zeller, 1969), p. 642; Chester *Coming of Antichrist,* ed. Lumiansky and Mills, lines 625–44. The "spirit" is identified with Michael in Haimo, *Expositio in epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 117: 781; *Tiburtine Oracle,* ed. Sackur, p. 186; *Glossa,* vol. 6, fol. 270v.

100. Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis,* 1.8, *PL* 93:154. See also Richard of Saint Victor, *In Apocalypsim, PL* 196: 776; William of Saint Amour, *De Antichristo et eius ministris,* ed. Martene and Durand, 9:1,339.

101. In his discussion of the opening of the seventh seal, Bede refers to Daniel 12. See *Explanatio Apocalypsis,* 1.8, *PL* 93:154. On the forty-five days, see Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel,* 4.55, Sources Chrétiennes, 14, p. 375; Jerome, *De Antichristo in Danielem, CCL* 75A:944; Rupert of

Deutz, *De victoria verbi Dei,* 13.15, *PL* 169:1,497–98; Nicholas, *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 328r.

102. Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo,* ed. Sackur, p. 113. John Wright is probably mistaken when he notes that Adso refers to Dan. 9:24–27 for the forty-day period. See Wright, *The Play of Antichrist* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1967), p. 109. See Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, PL* 117:781. On Adso's forty-day period, see Maurizio Rangheri, "La 'Epistola ad Gerbergam reginam de ortu et tempore Antichristi' di Adsone di Montier-en-Der e le sue fonti," *Studi Medievali,* 3rd series, 14 (1973): 726.

103. On other early references to a forty-day period, see "Quique cupitis audire," *Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi,* 4.1, *MGH* p. 645, stanza 9; *Blickling Homily* 3, ed. Morris, p. 35; Pseudo-Wulfstan Homily 55, ed. Napier, *Wulfstan: Sammlung,* p. 285; Ælfric, "Dominica I in Quadragesima," ed. Thorpe, *Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church,* 2:100.

104. Old English version of *Elucidarius,* ed. Rubie D. -N. Warner, *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth Century MS. Vespasian D. XIV,* EETS 152 (1917), p. 144–45. Robert Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints," *Traditio* 32 (1976): 108, suggests also that the forty days may be an analogy based on the time between Easter and Ascension or on Lent. Lerner notes that Bonaventure, Hugh of Saint Cher, and William of Saint Amour refer to a forty-two day period following Antichrist (p. 124).

105. See Huon le Roi, *Li Regres nostre dame,* ed. Arthur Långfors (Paris: Champion, 1907), strophe no. 186; Thibaut de Marly, *Vers de la mort,* ed. H. K. Stone (Paris: Droz, 1932), lines 746–93; Geufroi de Paris, *Bible des sept états du monde,* in L. E. Kastner, "Some Old French Poems on the Antichrist," *MLR* 2 (1906–7): 26–31; Berengier, *L'avenement Antecrist,* ed. Walberg, line 159; *Cursor Mundi,* ed. Morris, vol. 4, EETS 86 (1877), lines 22,409–16. The *Pricke of Conscience* refers to forty-five days of repentance. Ed. Morris, lines 4,626–47.

106. Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor, *Quaestiones,* 10, *PL* 175:592.

107. Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints," *Traditio* 32 (1976): 109–32.

108. As does Barbara Nolan, *The Gothic Visionary Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 24–26. Nolan comments that Joachim describes a time of "heightened spirituality preparatory to the eternal peace of the New Jerusalem," which is "not unlike the time of the seventh seal described by Richard of St. Victor" (p. 26). However,

the third *status* is in actuality quite different from the time that Richard describes as following Antichrist. That time, Richard notes (*PL* 196:776), is short and "in fine mundi," while Joachim's third *status* is a millennial age. It also seems as though Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints," exaggerates the millenarian aspects of the time after Antichrist. Lerner often refers to Hugh of Strassburg, for example, yet Hugh's statement concerning this time is a typically conservative attempt to avoid predicting the exact date for Christ's Second Advent: "quantum autem sit spacium inter illos xlv dies et finem mundi nemo scit," *Compendium theologicae veritatis,* 7.14.

109. Marjorie Reeves, while emphasizing the great influence of Joachim's third *status* to follow Antichrist, repeatedly notes that many later writers, even though attracted by the millenarian implications of a *renovatio,* still believe that the millennium began with the church rather than after Antichrist. See, for example, *Influence of Prophecy,* pp. 282–84, 427.

Chapter 4

1. For a discussion of the early Apocalypses and the origins of Apocalypse illustrations, see Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocalypse in Art* (London: British Academy, 1931), pp. 28–40; James Snyder, "The Reconstruction of an Early Christian Cycle of Illustrations for the Book of Revelation—the Trier Apocalypse," *Vigiliae Christianae* 18 (1964): 146–62; and Kathryn Henkel, *The Apocalypse* (College Park, Md.: University of Maryland, 1973), pp. 13–23. For the iconography of Antichrist and the Apocalypse, see Louis Reau, *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), 2.2:663–726; Otto Schmitt, ed., *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte,* vol. 1 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche, 1937), cols. 720–29; and Engelbert Kirschbaum, ed., *Lexikon der christliche Ikonographie* (Freiburg: Herder, 1968), 1:119–22.

2. On the early Paris Apocalypse and its companion Apocalypse, Valenciennes, Bibl. mun., MS 99, see H. A. Omont, *Manuscrits illustrés de l'Apocalypse aux ixe et xe siècles,* Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits (Paris, 1922). On Enoch and Elias, pp. 69, 79, pl. 22.

3. The illustrated Beatus manuscripts also usually include Jerome's commentary on Daniel. On the Beatus Apocalypses, see Neuss, *Die*

Apokalypse; Klein, *Der ältere Beatus-Kodex Vitr. 14–1;* and Carl-Otto Nordström, "Text and Myth in Some Beatus Miniatures," *Cahiers archéologiques* 25 (1976): 7–37 and 26 (1977): 117–36.

4. On the Anglo-Norman Apocalypses, see L. Delisle and P. Meyer, eds., *L'Apocalypse en française au xiii*e *siècle,* SATF 44 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1900); James, *The Apocalypse,* pp. 2–25, 44–64; Henderson, "Studies in English Manuscript Illumination," *JWCI* 30 (1967): 71–137 and 31 (1968): 103–47.

5. On the block book Apocalypses, see Wilhelm Ludwig Schreiber, *Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure sur bois et sur metal au xv*e *siècle,* vol. 4 (Berlin: Otto Harrassowitz, 1902), 160–216; and Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut* (1935; reprint ed. New York: Dover, 1963), 1:218–24. Schreiber describes six editions of these early printed books, the first three from the Netherlands, the last three from Germany. See also Henkel, *The Apocalypse,* pp. 36–41. On the block book *vitae* of Antichrist, see Schreiber, *Manuel,* 4:217–33; Hind, *History of Woodcut,* 1:257–58; and H. T. Musper, ed., *Der Antichrist und die fünfzehn Zeichen* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1970), pp. 20–40. Musper includes a complete facsimile of a block book *vita* possibly from Nuremberg, ca. 1450–60.

6. Jessie Poesch, "Antichrist Imagery in Anglo-French Apocalypse Manuscripts" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1966). The author has found Poesch's work and the Index of Christian Art (ICA) located at the University of California, Los Angeles, to be very helpful in guiding his research on Antichrist in medieval art.

7. See Trier, Stadtsbibl. MS 31, fol. 34r; ed. R. Laufner and P. Klein, *Trierer Apocalypse,* 2 vols. (Graz, 1975); *Trinity College Apocalypse,* fol. 12r, edition with facsimile by Peter H. Brieger, 2 vols. (London: Eugrammia, 1967); *Cloisters Apocalypse,* fol. 18r, edition with facsimile by Florens Deuchler, Jeffrey M. Hoffeld, and Helmut Nickel, 2 vols. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971); and René Planchenault, *L'Apocalypse d'Angers* (Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques et des sites, 1966), illus. 31. On the locust beasts and Abaddon, see Henderson, *JWCI* 30 (1967): 130.

8. Wolfenbüttel, MS 1, fol. 14r; described by Poesch, pp. 120–21. A similar scene is portrayed in Dresden, Landesbibl. MS Oc. 50, fol. 23v (14th cent.).

9. Prague, Univ. Lib. MS XXIII.C.124, fol. 162r. Karel Stejskal, ed., *Velislai Biblia Picta,* Editio Cimelia Bohemica, 12 (Prague: Progopress,

1970). Vol. 2 is a facsimile. All abbreviations of the inscriptions in the *Velislav Bible* and of all other inscriptions quoted in this chapter have been expanded.

10. See Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 524, fol. 7r; Bibl. nat. fr. 403, fol. 17v; Lambeth Palace, MS 209, fol. 12r; and the discussion in Henderson, *JWCI* 30 (1967): 108–11, 135–36, pl. 8, 9, 12.

11. Poesch, pp. 93–96.

12. See Delisle and Meyer, *L'Apocalypse en française;* Henderson, *JWCI* 30 (1967): 109, pl. 8c, 8d.

13. Henderson, *JWCI* 31 (1968): 138–39, pl. 47d. The *Gulbenkian Apocalypse* is described by Poesch, pp. 228–43.

14. For an edition and facsimile of the *Dyson Perrins Apocalypse,* see James, *The Apocalypse in Latin, MS. 10 in the Collection of Dyson Perrins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927). The manuscript is now in a private collection in Aachen.

15. For a facsimile see Jaime Marques Casanovas, Cesar E. Dubler, and Wilhelm Neuss, *Sancti Beati a Liebana in Apocalypsin Codex Gerundensis* (Olten: Urs Graf, 1962), fol. 176v.

16. See Franz von Juraschek, *Die Apokalypse von Valenciennes* (Linz: Gesellschaft für die Österreichische Forschung an Früh- und Hochmittelalterischen Denkmalern, 1954), fol. 25; and Heinrich Woelfflin, *Die Bamberger Apokalypse: eine Reichenauer Bilderhandschrift vom Jahre 1000* (Munich: Kurt Wolff, 1921), fol. 32v.

17. The inscription is quoted from *Apocalypsis Johannis,* a fifth edition block book (ca. 1470) at the Newberry Library, Chicago. For facsimiles of the block book Apocalypses, see Paul Kristeller, ed., *Die Apokalypse: Älteste Blockbuchausgabe in Lichtdrucknachbildung* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1916), a Dutch block book (ca. 1440), esp. illus. 46–53; H. T. Musper, *Die Urausgaben der holländischen Apokalypse und Biblia pauperum* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1961), a Dutch block book (ca. 1420–30), esp. pl. 22–28; and Franco Maria Ricci, ed., *Apocalisse xilografica estense* (Parma: Artegrafica Silva, 1969), a German block book (ca. 1470), esp. pp. 67–75. On the seven heads of the beast representing the seven vices, see the *Gulbenkian Apocalypse,* fol. 34v, which portrays a crowned seven-headed Antichrist and a battle between the seven vices and virtues.

18. For the *Wellcome Apocalypse,* London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library, MS 49, fol. 16v, see F. Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages," *JWCI* 5 (1942): 129–31; Gertrude Bing, "The Apocalypse Block-Books and Their Manuscript Models," *JWCI* 5 (1942): pl. 41b, 41c; and Poesch, pp. 291–316.

19. MS Escurial E. Vitr. V, fol. 23v. For a facsimile see Clément Gardet, *L'Apocalypse figurée des Ducs de Savoie* (Annency: Clément Gardet, 1969).

20. *Dyson Perrins Apocalypse,* fol. 24v. For the *Crowland* and *Canonici Apocalypses,* fol. 18v, see Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and other Fenland Manuscripts* (London: Harvey Miller, 1974). The portrayal of both Antichrist and the seven-headed beast as sitting with crossed legs is apparently typical of the iconography of tyrants. In an early ninth-century portrayal of Herod as he gives directions for the massacre of the innocents, he sits enthroned with his legs crossed. See the *Gospel Book of Augsburg,* Bayerische Staatsbibl., MS 23631, fol. 24v; and *Europe of the Invasions,* ed. Jean Hubert, Jean Porcher, and W. F. Volbach (New York: George Braziller, 1969), illus. 153.

21. Robert Hughes, *Heaven and Hell in Western Art* (New York: Stein and Day, 1968), pp. 274–77. For the Moralized Bibles, see Vienna, Natbibl., MS 2554, ed. Reiner Haussherr, *Bible Moralisée: Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Vindobonensis 2554 der Österreichischen National-bibliothek,* Codices Selecti Phototypice Impressi, 40 (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1973); for the seven-headed Antichrist, see Brit. Lib., Harley MS 1527, fols. 136v–148r, ed. Alexandre de Laborde, *Bible Moralisée, Conservée à Oxford, Paris et Londres* (Paris: Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 1911–27), vol. 4 (1921), pl. 607, 609, 612, 613.

22. Morgan Library, MS 524, fol. 8v. For a discussion of the head on the dragon's tail, see R. Freyhan, "Joachism and the English Apocalypse," *JWCI* 18 (1955): 242–44.

23. See Kristeller, ed., *Die Apokalypse,* illus. 69; Ricci, ed., *Apocalisse,* p. 91. The block book inscriptions are based on the Anglo-Norman Apocalypses. See, for example, Morgan MS 524, fol. 16r.

24. *Liber floridus,* Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 8865, fol. 41r. For a facsimile of the *Liber floridus* at Ghent Univ. Lib., MS 92 (ca. 1120), see Albert Derolez, *Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici, Liber floridus* (Ghent: E. Story-Scientia, 1968).

25. *Liber floridus,* ed. Derolez, fols. 62r–62v. Jessie Poesch, "The Beasts from Job in the *Liber Floridus* Manuscripts," *JWCI* 33 (1970): 41–51, studies the iconography of Behemoth and Leviathan. Behemoth is interpreted as Antichrist in the Moralized Bible, Bodl. 270b, fol. 224, illustrating Job 40:15–22; see Laborde, vol. 2 (1912), pl. 224. Similarly, Leviathan is interpreted as Antichrist in the Moralized Bible, Paris,

Bibl. nat., lat. 11560, fol. 116r, illustrating Isa. 27:1; see Laborde, vol. 2 (1912), pl. 340.

26. See C. M. Kauffmann, *An Altar-piece of the Apocalypse from Master Bertram's Workshop in Hamburg,* Victoria and Albert Museum, Monograph 25 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1968). Kauffmann discusses eight manuscripts of Alexander's commentary dating from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries. James, *The Apocalypse,* describes the illustrations based on Alexander as the "interpretative group" (pp. 65–67).

27. On the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum humanae salvationis,* see Hind, *History of Woodcut,* 1:230–42, 245–47.

28. James, *"Pictor in Carmine," Archaeologia* 94 (1950): 141–66, esp. no. 133–35.

29. Porcher, *Europe of the Invasions,* pp. 195–96, illus. 205. Doeg is identified with Antichrist in the Moralized Bible, Bibl. nat., lat. 11560, fol. 15v; ed. Laborde, vol. 1 (1911), pl. 111, 112.

30. On Judges 6:25–27, see Vienna, Natbibl., MS 2554, fol. 58v; on Judges 9, fols. 60r–60v; on the Philistines, fol. 42v; on Isboseth, fol. 43v. For Holofernes, see Oxford, Bodl. MS 270b, fol. 199v, ed. Laborde, vol. 2 (1912), pl. 199; for Herod, see Brit. Lib., Harley MS 1527, fol. 70v, ed. Laborde, vol. 3 (1913), pl. 541.

31. For Antiochus, see Brit. Lib., Harley MS 1526, fol. 29r; ed. Laborde, vol. 3 (1913), pl. 472. See also fols. 24v, 30v; ed. Laborde, vol. 3 (1913), pl. 467, 473.

32. See Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopedia," *JWCI* 5 (1942): pl. 21a, 21b.

33. For the historiated capitals at Ripoll and Autun, see Charles S. Singleton, "Inferno XIX: O Simon Mago!" *MLN* 80 (1965): figs. 1, 2; for the cathedral windows, see Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century,* trans. Dora Nussey (New York: Harper and Row, Icon edition, 1972), pp. 296–98; for the Cologne windows, see Herbert Rode, *Die mittelaterlichen Glasmalereien des Kölner Domes,* Corpus vitrearum medii aevi, Deutschland, 4.1. (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1974), pp. 195–96, illus. 28, 533, 538. See also William R. Cook and Ronald B. Herzman, "Simon Magus and the Medieval Tradition," *Journal of Magic History* 2 (1980), 28–43.

34. For the Byzantine psalters, see *L'Illustration des Psautiers Grecs du Moyen Age,* vol. 1, ed. Suzy Dufrenne (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1966), fol. 64r; and vol. 2, ed. Sirarpie der Nersessian (1970), fol. 66r.

35. On Simon Magus see the *Antiphonary of Prum,* Paris, Bibl. nat.,

lat. 9448, fol. 54v; the Bible of King Sancho, Amiens, Bibl. comm., lat. 108, ed. Françoise Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles,* 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), fol. 206r; and the *Belles Heures,* Metropolitan Museum, Cloisters 54.1.1, fol. 215r. For Simon Magus in the Moralized Bibles, see Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 11560, fol. 15v; ed. Laborde, vol. 2 (1912), pl. 239.

36. Lisbon, Gulbenkian, MS L.A. 139, fol. 39v; see Poesch, p. 235.

37. Poesch, pp. 318–19.

38. *Hortus deliciarum,* fol. 241r–242v: ed. A. Straub and G. Keller, *Herrade de Landsberg, Hortus deliciarum,* Société pour la conservation des monuments historiques d'Alsace (Strassburg: Imprimerie Strasbourgeoise, 1879–99). See also Joseph Walter, ed., *Hortus deliciarum,* Société pour la conservation des monuments historiques d'Alsace (Strassburg-Paris: F.-X. Le Roux, 1952), with a full catalogue of all miniatures, pp. 49–58.

39. Morgan Library, MS 524, fols. 6v–7v. Henderson analyzes the life cycle, and notes that it is based on 2 Thess. 2. See *JWCI* 30 (1967): 107–9.

40. For facsimiles of the block book *vitae,* see Musper, *Der Antichrist,* facs. 2r–2v on Antichrist's conception and birth; Ernst Kelchner, ed., *Der Enndkrist der Stadt-Bibliothek zu Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt: Frankfurter Lichtdruckanstalt Wiesbaden, 1891), a German block book (Strassburg, 1473–80), esp. woodcuts 3–4; and Kurt Pfister, ed., *Das Puch von dem Entkrist* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1925), a German block book (ca. 1470) now at Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl, Xyl. 1, esp. woodcut 2. The first typographic edition from Strassburg (ca. 1480) is now available in facsimile; see Karin Boveland, Christoph Peter Burger, and Ruth Steffen, *Der Antichrist und die fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht,* 2 vols. (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig, 1979).

41. For *La vie de l'Antechrist,* see Ernst and Johanna Lehner, *Devils, Demons, Death and Damnation* (New York: Dover, 1971), illus. 29. See also Bodleian Douce, MS 134, fol. 4; and for the *Legenda aurea,* Queen's College, Oxford, MS 305, fol. 50r.

42. *Hortus deliciarum,* fol. 255r. The chained devil in hell is inscribed "Lucifer ut Satanas," and the figure on his knee "Antichristus."

43. For the Torcello mosaic, see A.-M. Cocagnac, *Le Jugement dernier dans l'art* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1955), p. 73. For the Victoria and Albert ivory carving, see Margaret H. Longhurst, *Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory,* pt. 1 (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1927), pp. 42–43, pl. 22. Longhurst notes that "the little figure on the lap of Satan is prob-

ably Antichrist . . . , though it has been suggested that it represents the rich man or Judas" (p. 43). For the Greek manuscript, Bibl. nat. grec 74, fol. 51v, see H. Omont, *Evangiles avec peintures byzantines du xie siècle,* vol. 1 (Paris: Berthand Frères, 1908), illus. 41. Beat Brenk discusses these Byzantine-influenced Last Judgment scenes in *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausends: Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbildes,* Wiener Byzantinische Studien, 3 (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus, 1966), pp. 84–86, illus. 23–24. Brenk does not, however, identify the small figure as Antichrist.

44. The Fifteen Signs are included in the block book *vitae* edited by Kelchner, Pfister, Boveland et al., and Musper. For an earlier English manuscript illustration of the Signs, see *The Holkham Bible Picture Book,* ed. W. O. Hassall (London: Dropmore Press, 1954), fols. 40v–42r. See also J. T. Fowler, "The Fifteen Last Days of the World in Medieval Art and Literature," *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 23 (1914–15): 313–37.

45. For the *Burgo de Osma Apocalypse,* see Georgianna Goddard King, "Divigations on the Beatus," *Art Studies* 8, pt. 1 (1930): illus. 15.

46. For Gog and Magog as Mohammed and Saladin, see Dresden Landesbibl., A. 117, fol. 86v.

47. See Cambridge, Univ. Lib., Mm.V.31, fol. 191v.

48. On illustrations of Gog and Magog, see D. J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature* (London: Warburg Institute, 1963), pp. 34–35.

49. Paris, Bibl. Arsenal MS 1186, fol. 168r. Henry Martin, *Les Joyaux de l'Arsenal,* vol. 1: *Psautier de St. Louis et de Blanche de Castille* (Paris: Berthand Frères, 1909), p. 26, is probably mistaken in identifying these scenes as representing the preaching of Enoch and Elias. The young Christlike preacher is clearly Antichrist, who is shown in another scene of the same illustration killing Enoch and Elias.

50. *Gulbenkian Apocalypse,* fol. 36v. The same manuscript illustrates Apoc. 9:1 by showing a winged, devilish figure with a scroll inscribed "Ego sum Christus" (fol. 20v).

51. Lactantius, *Institutiones divinae,* 7.17, *CSEL* 19:639. On Antiochus, see 1 Macc. 1:59.

52. See, for example, Morgan Library, MS 524, fol. 7v; and the block book Apocalypse, ed. Musper, pl. 19a.

53. Oxford, Bodleian MS 270b, fol. 111v; ed. Laborde, vol. 1 (1911), pl. 111.

54. "Ibi subvertit sibi miraculorum ostensione. Quia arte magica fa-

ciet illa. Faciet enim arte magica arbores florere, statuam ridere et faciet eam loqui et futura predicere. Faciet et ignem de celo descendere in terram et lapides de celo cadere et malignum spiritum super suos descendere ut loquuntur uariis linguis." See also Hugh of Strassburg, *Compendium*, 7.9, ed. Borgnet, *Albertus Magnus*, vol. 34 (Paris, 1896), p. 242; Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in Apocalypsin, PL* 117:1,100; and Martin of Leon, *Expositio libri Apocalypsis, PL* 209:370. For a comparison of the rubrics of the *Velislav Bible* with the comments of Hugh of Strassburg, see Karel Chytil. *Antikrist v Naukách a Umění Středověku a Husitské Obrazné Antithese* (Prague, 1918), pp. 227–32.

55. See Laborde, vol. 4 (1921), pl. 607.

56. The block book Apocalypses show Antichrist with a sword in his left hand while pointing a staff with his right hand toward an uprooted tree. See Kristeller, *Die Apokalypse*, illus. 34; Musper, *Apokalypse und Biblia pauperum*, pl. 18b; Ricci, *Apocalisse*, p. 55. The block book *vitae* show Antichrist and two associates looking at two blossoming trees held by a devil. See Kelchner, *Der Enndkrist*, woodcut 16.

57. Kelchner, *Der Enndkrist*, woodcuts 30–31.

58. For the literal interpretation of the mark, see *Dyson Perrins Apocalypse*, fol. 25v; *Canonici* and *Crowland Apocalypses*, fol. 20v; and the Angers Tapestry, in Planchenault, illus. 46. For the Beatus Apocalypses, see Neuss, 1:187–88. A fourteenth-century encyclopedia, *Omne bonum*, by an unidentified Englishman named Jacobus, introduces its discussion of Antichrist with a decorated initial portraying Antichrist and two followers, each displaying an oblong mark on the forehead. See Brit. Lib. Royal 6 E. vi, fol. 100v.

59. Dublin, Trinity College Lib., MS K.4.31, pict. 39. As Poesch notes, pp. 253–56, the *Dublin Apocalypse* shows a great interest in the mark of the beast.

60. See chapter 2, page 40, for interpretations of 666. The Beatus Antichrist tables are described by Neuss, *Die Apokalypse*, 1:73–80; and by Klein, *Der ältere Beatus-Kodex Vitr. 14–1*, 1:126–27 and 2: illus. 56–57. See the *Gerona Apocalypse*, eds. Casanovas, Dubler, and Neuss, fols. 185v–186r; and Morgan Library, MS 644, fol. 171v.

61. For the early *Paris* and *Valenciennes Apocalypses*, see above, note 2. For the identification of the witnesses as Elias and Jeremiah, see Klein, *Die ältere Beatus-Kodex Vitr. 14–1*, 1:100–10 and 2: illus. 49–51. The illustration of Morgan Library, MS 644, fol. 149r, is inscribed "seu pro Enoc Iheremias."

62. "Regnante autem eo egreditur duo clarissimi viri helias et enoch

ad annunciandum domini adventum et antichristus occidet eos." See Buchner, *The Pamplona Bibles,* fol. 250r.

63. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (Baltimore, 1959; reprint ed., New York: Norton, 1964), p. 25.

64. D. J. A. Ross, *Illustrated Medieval Alexander-Books in Germany and the Netherlands: A Study in Comparative Iconography* (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1971), p. 40, illus. 40.

65. See Klein, *Die ältere Beatus-Kodex Vitr. 14–1,* 2: illus. 49–51; and for other Beatus Apocalypses, 2: illus. 82, 86, 93, 94, 96, 97.

66. Bodleian MS 352, fols. 8r, 8v.

67. Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 1191, fol. 452v.

68. See Henderson, *JWCI* 30 (1967): 108–11, 128–35; and Henderson, "An Apocalypse Manuscript in Paris: B.N. MS Lat. 10474," *Art Bulletin* 52 (1970): 22–31. For variations on these four scenes, see the illustrations in Bodleian Selden Supra 38, fols. 76v, 78r; Brit. Lib. Royal 15 D. ii, fols. 147v, 149r; and Brit. Lib. Royal 19 B. xv, fols. 19r, 39r, where the resurrection of the witnesses is placed after the chaining of the dragon (Apoc. 20).

69. See Henderson, *JWCI* 30 (1967): 110–11. For the block books, see Kristeller, illus. 32–36; Musper, pl. 17–19; Ricci, pp. 53–57.

70. See Kelchner, *Der Enndkrist,* woodcuts 10–12, 37–38, 46.

71. See Kelchner, *Der Enndkrist,* woodcuts 37–43; Pfister, *Das Puch von dem Entkrist,* pp. 19–23; Musper, *Der Antichrist,* facs. 12v–14r. Preuss includes two fifteenth-century illustrations of Antichrist's pseudo-resurrection and attempted ascension in his *Die Vorstellungen vom Antichrist im späteren Mittelalter,* illus. 1, 2.

72. See, for example, the illustration of Innocent V, *Super epistola Pauli,* in Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibl., MS 26, fol. 151v; and the Bible of Madrid, Lazaro Galdiano Museum, MS 15289, fol. 299r. For other illustrations of 2 Thessalonians portraying Antichrist, see Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 194–95.

73. The block book *vitae* show an angel with a sword in their illustrations of Antichrist's pseudo-ascension. For the Moralized Bibles, see Laborde, vol. 1 (1911), pl. 112; vol. 2 (1912), pl. 196, 200, 239; vol. 4 (1921), pl. 738.

74. See Fabio Bisogni, "Problemi Iconografici Riminesi: Le storie dell'Antichristo in S. Maria in Porto Fuori," *Paragone* 305 (July 1975): 13–23, illus. 11.

75. "Hic descendit ira Dei de celo et interficit Antichristum." See Morgan Library, MS 524, fol. 7v; similarly the block book Apocalypse, ed. Musper, pl. 19b. Bibl. nat., fr. 403, fol. 18r, which shows Christ holding the mask from which the spirit pours onto Antichrist's head, does not include the inscription. See Henderson's explanation, *JWCI* 30 (1967): 110–11, pl. 8d.

76. Bibl. de l'Arsenal 1186, fol. 168r. The psalter follows this illustration with portrayals of angels blowing the trumpets of judgment (fol. 169v), Christ in judgment (fol. 170r), and the saved in Abraham's bosom and the damned in hell (fol. 171r).

77. The block book *vitae* devote a full page to show Antichrist's punishment. Usually several grotesque devils with pitchforks haul him into hell's mouth. See Kelchner, *Der Enndkrist,* woodcut 44; and Pfister, *Das Puch von dem Entkrist,* p. 24. The *vita* edited by Musper includes only a half-page illustration of the scene; see *Der Antichrist,* facs. 14v. A fresco at Pisa, Camposanto (ca. 1345), shows Antichrist in hell, tormented by devils. See J. Polzer, "Aristotele, Mohammed and Nicholas V in Hell," *Art Bulletin* 46 (1964): illus. 3; and Bisogni, "Problemi Iconografici Riminesi," illus. 12.

78. See Kelchner, *Der Enndkrist,* woodcuts 45–62; Pfister, *Das Puch von dem Entkirst,* pp. 24–36; Musper, *Der Antichrist,* facs 14v–20v. This eschatological context for Antichrist's life is also evident in the English Renaissance printed book, *Here Begynneth the Byrthe and Lyfe of the Moost False and Deceytfull Antechryst* (Wynkyn de Worde, ca. 1528), *STC* 670. After portraying Antichrist's death, it includes woodcuts that illustrate one of the Fifteen Signs and the Last Judgment.

79. See, for example, Bodleian Douce, MS 134, fol. 6r, which shows Antichrist dressed as the pope. He enters a city and is followed by men carrying spears and banners decorated with heads of the beast. The spiritual encyclopedia described by Saxl also reflects contemporary polemics; see *JWCI* 5 (1942): 84–90. On Joachimism and the Apocalypses, see Freyhan, *JWCI* 18 (1955): 211–44.

Chapter 5

1. Commodian, *Instructiones,* 1.41, 1.44, 2.35; and *Carmen de duobus populis,* verses 927–36, both in *CCL* 128. Prudentius, *Liber cathemerinon,* 6, "Hymnus ante somnum," lines 109–12, *CCL* 126:33.

2. See R. E. Kaske, "Dante's 'DXV' and 'Veltro,' " *Traditio* 17 (1961): 185–254; John Friedman, "Antichrist and the Iconography of Dante's Geryon," *JWCI* 35 (1972): 108–22; Ronald B. Herzman and William A. Stephany, " 'O Miseri Seguaci,' Sacramental Inversion in *Inferno* XIX," *Dante Studies* 96 (1978): 39–65; Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Ronald B. Herzman, "Antichrist, Simon Magus, and Dante's *Inferno* XIX," *Traditio* 36 (1980); William M. Manly, "Shepherds and Prophets: Religious Unity in the Towneley *Secunda Pastorum,*" *PMLA* 78 (1963): 151–55; Linda E. Marshall, " 'Sacral Parody' in the *Secunda Pastorum,*" *Speculum* 47 (1972): 720–36; and Valerie M. Lagorio, "The Apocalyptic Mode in the Vulgate Cycle of Arthurian Romances," *Philological Quarterly* 57 (1978): 1–22.

3. Bruce A. Rosenberg, "Swindling Alchemist, Antichrist," *Centennial Review* 6 (1962): 575. Rosenberg confuses Antichrist with the devil throughout. On the one hand the canon is "Satan or one of his devils . . ." (p. 579), and on the other hand he is "the spirit of the antichrist stalking fourteenth-century England . . ." (p. 580).

4. Jean de Meun, *Roman de la Rose,* ed. Ernest Langlois, SATF 63, 5 vols. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1914–24), lines 11,713–16.

5. Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale* (Paris: Aubier, 1961), pt. 2, vol. 2, p. 359.

6. Ione Kemp Knight, ed., *Wimbledon's Sermon, Redde Rationem Villicationes Tue: A Middle English Sermon of the Fourteenth Century,* Duquesne Studies, Philological Series, 9 (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1967), pp. 116–17.

7. On the eschatology of the anonymous homilies, see Milton McCormick Gatch, "Eschatology in the Anonymous Old English Homilies," *Traditio* 21 (1965): 117–65. On the monastic reform, see F. M. Stenton, "The Tenth Century Reformation," *Anglo-Saxon England,* 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), pp. 433–69. Gatch's recent study, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), discusses the monastic reform and analyzes the eschatology of Ælfric and Wulfstan. It includes a chapter on Wulfstan's treatment of Antichrist. For Ælfric on Antichrist, see also the fourth chapter of Richard K. Emmerson, "The Coming of Antichrist: An Apocalyptic Tradition in Medieval Literature" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1977), esp. pp. 226–49.

8. David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943–1216* (Cambridge: University Press, 1950), p. 63. For Ælfric's life,

see Peter Clemoes, "Ælfric," in E. G. Stanley, *Continuations and Beginnings; Studies in Old English Literature* (London: Nelson, 1966), pp. 176–209. For his canon, see Clemoes, "The Chronology of Ælfric's Works," in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins* (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1959), pp. 213–19. The main collections for Ælfric's discussion of Antichrist are his *Catholic Homilies,* edited Benjamin Thorpe, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (London: Ælfric Society, 1844); and John C. Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection,* EETS 259, 260 (1967–68). These editions will be cited in the text by editor and by volume and page numbers. Roman numerals will designate individual homilies.

9. Ælfric probably did not know Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo,* which would have provided an organization for his account. It therefore seems unlikely that Ælfric borrowed from Adso, as Pope suggests. The analogues that Pope quotes are not precise, unless one assumes that Ælfric's "Him farað mid æfre ungesewenlice deoflu" (Pope 2:603) is a misreading of Adso's "Et maligni spiritus erunt duces eius et socii semper et comites indivisi [v.l. invisi]," as Pope suggests. Ælfric's reference to the "invisible" devil, in fact, may be borrowed from Agobard of Lyon's *Sermo de fidei veritate, PL* 104:280.

10. "Then the Antichrist comes, who is a wicked man and a true devil; he is begotten by the adultery of man and of woman; and he is filled with the devil's spirit." Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 188, p. 93, on microfilm. The quotation follows the manuscript's punctuation, except for the semicolon after "deofol." Pope (1:60, n. 1) describes Ælfric's addition to the "Preface," which is attached to the homily for the First Sunday in Advent (Thorpe 1:XXXIX). The quoted lines replace the comparison of Antichrist as man and devil to Christ as man and God (Thorpe 1:4, lines 15–16). This addition significantly clarifies Ælfric's understanding of Antichrist and shows that he followed standard exegetical interpretations. Although Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England,* refers to this addition (p. 224, n. 22), he does not note its significance. Gatch describes Ælfric's view of Antichrist as "the devil incarnate" (p. 80).

11. See *Vercelli Homilies* 2 and 21, where Antichrist is called "þæt mycle dioful Ante-crist." Edited Max Förster, *Die Vercelli-Homilien I–VIII,* Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 12 (1932; reprint ed., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), pp. 46–47.

12. "And it seems to us that time is very near, because this world always is from day to day the longer the worst." Dorothy Bethurum, *The*

Homilies of Wulfstan (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), Ib, p. 117. See also IV, p. 132. All references to Wulfstan will be cited in text by page number to this edition. Roman numerals will designate individual homilies. On Wulfstan, see Bethurum, "Wulfstan," *Continuations and Beginnings*, ed. Stanley (London: Nelson, 1966), pp. 210–46.

13. Bethurum, *Homilies of Wulfstan*, p. 282. On Wulfstan's knowledge of Adso, see Bethurum, "Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book," *PMLA* 57 (1942): 925. The Latin and Old English versions of the *Libellus de Antichristo* are found in four English manuscripts connected with Wulfstan. In her notes, Bethurum states that Adso makes Antichrist "the product of an incestuous union of father and daughter" (*Homilies of Wulfstan*, p. 289). Actually, Adso never refers to incest. All he says is that Antichrist is not born of a virgin. Bethurum is probably misled by the Old English translation of Adso, part of the Pseudo-Wulfstan collection (No. 42), which refers to an incestuous relationship. See Arthur Napier, ed., *Wulfstan: Sammlung* (1883; reprint ed., Dublin: Weidmann, 1967), p. 193. For a discussion of the Old English version of Adso, see Richard Kenneth Emmerson, "From *Epistola* to *Sermo*: The Old English Version of Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, forthcoming.

14. R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1946), p. 49.

15. M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 192.

16. William Brandt, *The Shape of Medieval History: Studies in Modes of Perception* (New York: Schocken, 1973), p. 45.

17. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series, 57 (1872; reprint ed., Kraus Reprint, 1964), 1:50, and 6:80. For the Antichrist included in Bede's works, see *PL* 90:1,181–86. On other sibylline prophecies recorded by Matthew Paris, see Bernard McGinn, "Joachim and the Sibyl," *Citeaux Commentarii Cistercienses* 24 (1973): 119.

18. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, "Liber Danielis," 6, *PL* 198:1,453–55. Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon*, ed. Joseph R. Lumby, Rolls Series, 41 (London, 1882), 3:68–70, 122–36.

19. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 5.39, *PL* 82:228.

20. Bede, *De temporum ratione*, 67–70, *PL* 90:571–76.

21. Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, ed. Adolfus Hofmeister (Hanover: Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1919), pp. 393–99. For a study of Otto's eschatol-

ogy, see H. D. Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter,* pp. 313–21. C. A. Patrides, *The Phoenix and the Ladder,* calls Otto's *Chronica* "the most eloquent statement of the eschatological aspect of the Christian view of history . . ." (p. 22).

22. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale,* vol. 4 (Strassburg, 1473), 32.106–10. On the Pseudo-Joachim, *In expositione Hieremie,* see Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy,* pp. 149–53. For Saint Hildegarde, see *Scivias,* 3.11, *PL* 197:714–21.

23. *Polychronicon,* 7.36, Rolls Series, 41 (1882), 8:236.

24. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493). Folios cclviiii, cclx, and cclxi are left blank. Folio cclxii then begins the account of the last things, including Antichrist (cclxiii) and the Last Judgment (cclxv).

25. A similar ordering of history is reflected in the thirteenth-century art treatise, *Pictor in carmine.* It concludes its list of subjects worthy of being illustrated in churches with the destruction of Jerusalem, the heretics of the church, the coming of Antichrist, the conversion of the Jews by Enoch and Elias, the great fire, the general resurrection, and the Last Judgment. Here, then, the Antichrist legend again serves as a transition from the past to the future. See M. R. James, "*Pictor in Carmine,*" pp. 165–66.

26. *Cursor Mundi,* ed. Morris, vol. 4, EETS 66 (1877), lines 21,847–2,426. The four manuscripts published by Morris differ on naming the events of the last days as taking place during the seventh age. The Cotton MS lacks a headnote beginning the account of the last days, but states that six ages have now been "broght in place" (line 21,847) and that the sixth age is the time of grace lasting from Christ to Doomsday. The Göttingen MS follows this introductory statement, but the editor has added the following headnote: "The Sixth Age of the World; the Day of Doom." This is clearly mistaken, for the poem makes it clear that it has completed its account of the sixth age. Furthermore, the headnote of the Fairfax MS states: "þe vii elde of þe werlde. Of antecrist be-for þe dome." On the scope of the *Cursor Mundi,* see David Fowler, *The Bible in Early English Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), pp. 165–93.

27. "Notice sur la *Bible des sept états du monde* de Geufroi de Paris," ed. Paul Meyer, *Notices et extraits de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale,* 29.1 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1909), pp. 255–322; and L. E. Kastner, ed., "Some Old French Poems on the Antichrist," *MLR* 2 (1906–7): 26–31. *Pricke of Conscience,* ed. Morris, pp. 110–27.

28. "Quique cupitis audire," *Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi,* 4.1: *Rhythmi aevi Merovingici et Carolini, MGH* (Berlin, 1914), no. 88, pp. 644–46.

29. *Ibid.*, no. 13, pp. 491–95.

30. *Entecrist,* ed. Heinrich Hoffman, *Fundgrüben für Geschichte deutscher Sprache und Literatur,* vol. 2 (Breslau: Aderholz, 1837), pp. 106–25.

31. E. Walberg, ed., *Deux versions inédites de la légende de l'antéchrist en vers français du xiii[e] siècle* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1928).

32. Berengier's *De l'avenement Antecrist* is also included in Walberg, ed., *Deux versions.*

33. Critics are divided concerning the origins of Antichrist drama. Karl Young finds no "direct liturgical attachment" for the *Ludus de Antichristo;* see *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), 2:399. Hardin Craig, however, argues that Antichrist drama grew out of the liturgy for Advent (2 Thess. 2). See his *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), p. 74.

34. *The Perugia Doomsday Play,* Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis, ed., *Laude Drammatiche e Rappresentazioni Sacre* (Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1943), 1:35–52.

35. Künzelsau cycle, Peter K. Liebenow, ed., *Das Künzelsauer Fronleichnamspiel* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1969); on Antichrist see lines 5,075–304.

36. For a survey of Antichrist drama, see Klaus Aichele, *Das Antichristdrama des Mittelalters, der Reformation und Gegenreformation* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974). Aichele lists seventeen medieval plays in Latin, Italian, Old French, Middle High German, Middle Dutch, and Middle English, of which ten are extant. In addition, he surveys twelve Antichrist plays of the Reformation and fourteen plays of the Counter-Reformation.

37. Karl Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church,* 2:395. All references to the *Ludus de Antichristo* are cited by page number from Young's edition, 2:371–87. Other editions include Gerhard Günther, *Der Antichrist: Der staufische Ludus de Antichristo* (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig, 1970), which includes an extensive commentary on the play; and a translation by John Wright, *The Play of Antichrist* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1967). On dating see Helmut Plechl, "Die Tegernsee Handschrift Clm 19411: Beschreibung und Inhalt," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 18 (1962): 418–501.

38. Young, *Drama of Medieval Church,* 2:392–93, prints the relevant

passages from Gerhoh. On authorship of the play, see Günther, pp. 75–88. On dating, see Young, 2:390–93; Wright, pp. 24–40; Aichele, pp. 28–30.

39. Wolfgang Michael, "Tradition and Originality in the Medieval Drama in Germany," in Sandro Sticca, ed., *The Medieval Drama* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972), p. 26. On the play's sources, see Young, 2:370–71; Aichele, p. 28; and Eduard Michaelis, "Zum *Ludus de Antichristo*," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 54 (1913): 70–74.

40. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), 2:64. For discussion of the political elements of the play, see S. Aschner, "Zum *Ludus de Antichristo*," *Münchener Museum für Philologie* 1 (1911–12): 355–62; and Wilhelm Kamlah, "Der *Ludus de Antichristo*," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 28 (1934): 70–74. Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, p. 387, overemphasizes the historical interpretation of the play when he sees the Emperor's handing over his power as a shift from the political to the eschatological. The entire play should be understood in an eschatological context.

41. Günther, *Der Antichrist*, p. 192, points out that Antichrist's answer parodies Mary's answer at the Annunciation (Luke 1:34).

42. There is some uncertainty concerning the blindfold. The rubric merely states "Tunc tollunt ei velum." Wright, *The Play of Antichrist*, p. 95, translates this as "Then they strip off Antichrist's mask." But the iconographic association of Synagoga with the blindfold suggests that the reference is to Synagoga. See also Günther, *Der Antichrist*, p. 225.

43. *Le Jour du Jugement*, ed. Emile Roy, *Le Jour du Jugement: Mystère français sur le Grand Schisme*, Études sur le théâtre français au xive siècle (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1902). All references to the play are to this edition and are cited by line number.

44. Mary Marshall, "Aesthetic Values of the Liturgical Drama," *Medieval English Drama: Essays Critical and Contextual*, ed. Jerome Taylor and Alan H. Nelson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 30.

45. Two illustrations in Besançon MS 579 portray the seduction of Antichrist's mother and the devilish conception of Antichrist, although Antichrist's father is temporarily disguised as a youth. See fols. 6r–6v. *Here Begynneth the Byrthe and Lyfe of Antechryst* (ca. 1528), published by Wynkyn de Worde, pictures the incestuous conception of Antichrist as devils watch. An interesting analogue in popular literature is the birth of Merlin. An illustration at the beginning of the *Vulgate Merlin* in Bibl. nat. fr. 95 (ca. 1290) portrays in its top register a council of devils and in the bottom register a devil impregnating Merlin's mother. See Roger

Sherman Loomis and Laura Hibbard Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1938), illus. 233.

46. Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo,* ed. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1898), p. 112.

47. Roy discusses the possible allusion to Gog and Magog, p. 48. He attempts to explain the discrepancy in the number of the nations and in his glossary suggests that "Jupians" may refer to Jupiter. "Jayans," of course, means "giants," a certain allusion to Gog and Magog. See the *Pseudo-Methodius,* ed. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen,* pp. 91–92.

48. Antichrist's mother is also presented in the Counter-Reformation plays, the *Luzern Antichrist* (1549), the *Modane Antéchrist* (1580, 1606), and Juan Ruiz de Alarcón's *El Antichristo* (1623). See Aichele, *Das Antichristdrama,* pp. 113–14.

49. For an edition of the Chester cycle, see R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, *The Chester Mystery Cycle,* EETS SS 3 (1974). All references to the Chester plays are to this edition and are cited by line number. For dating and authorship, see F. M. Salter, *Mediaeval Drama in Chester* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), pp. 33–42. For sources, see Hans Utesch, *Die Quellen der Chester-Plays* (Kiel, 1909); Albert C. Baugh, "The Chester Plays and French Influence," *Schelling Anniversary Papers by his Former Students* (New York: Century, 1923), pp. 35–63; and Linus Lucken, *Antichrist and the Prophets of Antichrist in the Chester Cycle* (Washington: Catholic University, 1940), pp. 47–75.

50. The Huntington Library manuscript that Lumiansky and Mills follow does not include the *prophetae* as part of the *Balaack and Balaam.* They print the relevant passages in an appendix, however. On the relation between the *Prophets of Antichrist* and the traditional *prophetae,* see Lucken, *Antichrist and the Prophets of Antichrist in the Chester Cycle,* pp. 76–92.

51. The Expositor's interpretations of the prophecies from Daniel and the Apocalypse are part of the mainstream of the Antichrist tradition. The passage from Ezekiel describing the dream of the plain of dry bones the Expositor interprets as a prophecy of Doomsday, the Resurrection, and the separation of the good from the wicked. He generally follows Jerome, *Commentariorum in Ezechielem, PL* 25:345–48. Lucken mentions no possible source for the Expositor's exegesis of Zechariah 6:1–5, which describes the vision of four chariots appearing from two mountains. The Expositor interprets the four chariots to refer to four groups of the faithful (martyrs, confessors, newly converted, virgins)

who are bolstered by Enoch and Elias, the two mountains. This interpretation may be based on Haimo of Auxerre, *In Zachariam prophetam, PL* 117:238–39, which interprets the four horses as four groups of the elect, and on the "Moraliter" of the *Glossa ordinaria,* which interprets the two mountains as "de studio diligenti duorum testamentorum," *Glossa,* vol. 4, fol. 412r. Since the two witnesses of Apoc. 11 are sometimes interpreted as the two testaments, the *Glossa* may have suggested the identification of the mountains and Enoch and Elias.

52. Lucken, *Antichrist and the Prophets of Antichrist,* p. 48.

53. The *Legenda aurea,* for example, tells how two dogs sent by Simon Magus to attack Peter were put to flight when presented with blessed bread. See T. Graesse, ed., *Jacobi a Voragine: Legenda aurea* (1890; reprint ed., Osnabruck: Otto Zeller, 1969), p. 372. But see also Luke 24:36–43 as a possible influence on this scene.

54. Noted by Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 293 and 412, note 88.

55. V. A. Kolve, *The Play Called Corpus Christi* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), pp. 124–44. Although Antichrist's foolishness becomes increasingly prominent as the play develops, it may be misleading to see him, as Kolve does, as "a buffoon, a confidence man" (p. 140) or to agree with Leslie Howard Martin, "Comic Eschatology in the Chester *Coming of Antichrist,*" *Comparative Drama* 5 (1971): 163–76, who argues that the whole play is comic and an "antic interlude" (p. 165) before the *Last Judgment,* and that "the *Prophets* proves an ironic foreword to the farcical *Coming*" (p. 164).

56. Barbara Nolan, *The Gothic Visionary Perspective.* Nolan studies Dante's *Vita Nuova* and the Middle English *Pearl,* as well as the *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist* and *Piers Plowman.* For a review of Nolan, see Richard Kenneth Emmerson, *Modern Philology* 77 (1980):409–11.

57. On Prudentius see Julia Mary Ursula Barstow, "A Study of Huon de Méry's *Tornoiement Antecrist*" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1970), pp. 99–102. On the vices in the last days, see Cyprian, *Liber de unitate ecclesiae,* 16, *PL* 4:528; Lactantius, *Divinarum institutionum,* 7.15.17.19, *CSEL* 19:632–46; Berengaudus, *Expositio super septem visiones libri Apocalypsis, PL* 17:965. Antichrist is usually portrayed in medieval art as encouraging particular vices, especially lechery and avarice. However, the illustrated Apocalypse in Gulbenkian Museum, MS L. A. 139, fol. 34v, portrays him along with a *psychomachia* in which the virtues are triumphant.

58. Dorothy Owen, *Piers Plowman: A Comparison with Some Earlier and*

Contemporary French Allegories (London: University of London Press, 1912), p. 17. *Piers Plowman,* of course, also personifies the vices in the famous confession of the deadly sins depicted in the *Visio.*

59. Huon de Méry, *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist,* ed. Georg Wimmer, *Li Tornoiemenz Antecrit von Huon de Méry,* Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie, 76 (Marburg: 1888). All references to the poem are to Wimmer's edition and are cited in text by line number. For dating and authorship, see Wimmer, pp. 9–11; and Max Grebel, *Le Tornoiement Antechrist par Huon de Méry* (Leipzig, 1883), pp. 50–52.

60. See Barstow, pp. 84–87; for tables detailing the organization of the two armies, see pp. 104 and 142.

61. For the medieval view of the gods as mortals who became divine or as planetary deities, see Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art,* trans. Barbara F. Sessions, Bollingen Series (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 11–83. Marc-René Jung points out that Huon may have been influenced by Adso's statement that Antichrist would raise himself over all gods, including Hercules, Apollo, Jove, and Mercury. See Jung, *Études sur le poème allégorique en France au Moyen Âge,* Romanica Helvetica 82 (Berne: A. Francke, 1971), pp. 275–76. See also Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo,* ed. Sackur, p. 111.

62. Jung, *Études sur le poème allégorique,* p. 274.

63. Otto, *Chronica,* 7.1, ed. Hofmeister, p. 393.

64. See A. S. Turberville, "Heresies and the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, c. 1000–1305," *The Cambridge Medieval History,* vol. 7: *Victory of the Papacy* (Cambridge: University Press, 1964), pp. 699–706.

65. T. P. Dunning, review of Morton Bloomfield's *Piers Plowman,* in *Review of English Studies* 16 (1965): 189.

66. Unless otherwise noted, all citations to *Piers Plowman* are to the B text, edited George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson, *Will's Visions of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better and Do-Best* (London: Athlone Press, 1975). References are cited by passus and line number. References to the C text are cited by text, passus, and line number from Walter W. Skeat's parallel text edition, *The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman,* 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1886; reprint ed., 1968). For authorship, see Kane, *Piers Plowman: The Evidence for Authorship* (London: Athlone Press, 1965). For dating, see Morton Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-century Apocalypse* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1961), pp. 89–90.

67. D. W. Robertson and Bernard Huppé argue that Holy Church appears in the poem as the bride of Christ (Apoc. 21:2–11) and that Lady Meed appears as the Whore of Babylon (Apoc. 17). See *Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 51.

68. Mary Carruthers, *The Search for St. Truth: A Study of Meaning in Piers Plowman* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), argues that the most famous prophecy in the poem, by Conscience, foresees a social regeneration under law and reason and that "the element of *grace,* necessary for any genuinely Christian society, is entirely lacking. What Conscience envisions is no reign of the saints on earth, but a society of enlightened, reasonable men" (p. 58). On the "prophetic" element in the poem, see Emmerson, "The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic, and the Study of Medieval Literature," in *Prophetic Voice and Vision in Western Literature,* ed. Raymond-Jean Frontain and Jan Wojcik (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, forthcoming).

69. See Joseph S. Wittig, " 'Piers Plowman' B, Passus IX–XII: Elements in the Design of the Inward Journey," *Traditio* 28 (1972): 211–80. Bloomfield notes that Do-Well "is essentially organized around the movement of the mind into itself," *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-century Apocalypse,* p. 64.

70. Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-century Apocalypse,* p. 124. Carruthers, *Search for St. Truth,* p. 142, understands the scene as comprising all history from the Fall to Doomsday.

71. Robert W. Frank, Jr., *Piers Plowman and the Scheme of Salvation: An Interpretation of Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 109.

72. Nevill Coghill, "Two Notes on *Piers Plowman:* I. The Abbot of Abingdon and the Date of the C. Text," *Medium Ævum* 4 (1935): 86, argues that Cain "stands for Anti-Christ, who is to 'awake' just before the Second Coming of Christ." However, Cain is more likely a type of Antichrist who prefigures Antichrist's followers, the friars. The friars were popularly tied to Cain in the fourteenth century. See "The Orders of Cain (1382)," ed. R. H. Robbins, *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries,* p. 160, lines 109–16. For Mohammed as a type of Antichrist in *Piers Plowman,* see Michael Paull, "Mahomet and the Conversion of the Heathen in *Piers Plowman,*" *English Language Notes* 10 (1972): 2.

73. On *redde quod debes,* see Frank, *Piers the Plowman and the Scheme of Salvation,* pp. 106–9; and Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-century Apocalypse,* pp. 130–33. On the Vicar, see David C. Fowler, *Piers the*

Plowman: Literary Relations of the A and B Texts (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961), pp. 158–60. Fowler notes that the Vicar's speech resembles a Last Judgment play in its condemnation of the pope and others.

74. Skeat glosses "spede" as "increase," but Robert Kaske states that "the expression surely means 'provide for men's needs' . . . and clearly refers to the eschatological commonplace of material prosperity under the rule of Antichrist." See his review of Bloomfield's *Piers Plowman*, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 62 (1963): 207. Recently, Robert Adams has argued that "spede" in this passage is deliberately ambiguous, and that it can mean not only "provide for," but also "promote or further." Adams concludes that "this ambiguity seems an intentional means for exploiting the difference between the appearance of prosperity brought by Antichrist and the spiritual indigence that actually results from his promotion of men's needs." See "The Nature of Need in 'Piers Plowman' XX," *Traditio* 34 (1978):284, note 15.

75. See "Super Cantica Sacra," ed. Arnold, *Selected English Works of John Wyclif* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1869), 3:60, which calls Antichrist the "king of alle þe children of pride." In *Friar Daw's Reply*, ed. P. L. Heyworth, *Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's Rejoinder*, pp. 79–80, Pride carries Antichrist's banner.

76. See Penn R. Szittya, " 'Caimes Kynde': The Friars and the Exegetical Origins of Medieval Antifraternalism," pp. 85–88. On the phrase "*penetrans domos*," see Szittya, p. 73.

77. Carruthers, for example, argues that "the tone and emphasis of the conclusion are negative, the positive vision evoked tentatively at best. Conscience's quest for Piers Plowman seems a feeble reed in the chaotic ruin of all the poem's structures." *The Search for St. Truth*, p. 171.

78. Frank, *Piers Plowman and the Scheme of Salvation*, argues that "it would be easy to give Antichrist here a significance which the figure does not really possess. True, there are apocalyptic overtones to this vision, but in spite of its disasters, warnings, and brave hopes it is not a vision of the Last Judgment. Although doctrinally the appearance of Antichrist was a sign of approaching Doomsday, by the fourteenth century 'Antichrist' had become a mere term of abuse" (pp. 111–12). As this study argues throughout, even in the late Middle Ages and even in many polemical treatments of Antichrist, he remains an eschatological figure tied to the expectation of Doomsday. Robert Adams, whose recent close reading of Need in passus 20 is one of the best studies of the poem's conclusion, similarly argues "that no vague social forces, no

mere bad men, indeed nothing less than the great 'son of perdition' himself is here intended." See "The Nature of Need," *Traditio* 34 (1978):294.

79. Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-century Apocalypse,* interprets the poem as "fundamentally . . . about social regeneration" and Antichrist as a sign of future renewal: "However, to thinkers like Langland, the very presence of Antichrist is actually evidence for the imminence of renewal and fundamentally a hopeful sign" (p. 125). Bloomfield also argues that Langland believed in periods of Antichrists and that he did not believe in the imminent end of the world but expected "a new or reformed age or just a reconstitution of the Church in its primal purity" (pp. 216–17, note 70; see also p. 208, note 17). He also calls Langland a millenarian (p. 114). Bloomfield's reading of the poem has been very influential and is followed by Pietro Cali, *Allegory and Vision in Dante and Langland: A Comparative Study* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1971), p. 159, who argues that the poem ends optimistically with the belief in the "renewal of Christian society." Barbara Nolan, *The Gothic Visionary Perspective,* similarly reads the poem's conclusion: "Yet even at the end of the poem, after the greatest of hardships and suffering, Will persists in his dream. An Age of the Spirit—a kingdom of love and brotherhood on earth—still remains a possibility, if only in poetry" (p. xvii). On the contrary, *Piers Plowman* throughout shows that there is no such possibility. The poem certainly does not, as Nolan suggests, reflect "that eschatological idealism which is the hallmark of the later medieval visionary quest" (p. 206). Furthermore, Nolan's comparison of Langland to Joachim of Fiore is confusing when she states that "the poet could imagine for his audience the completion of God's historical revelation to man: the coming and defeat of Antichrist, a short time of peace on earth, and then the eternal Sabbath" (pp. 209–10). In the Antichrist tradition, the "short time of peace" usually refers to the forty-five days for repentance or to some similar brief period when the Jews and Saracens are converted, not to the third *status* envisioned by Joachim of Fiore.

80. Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-century Apocalypse,* p. 118.

81. Carruthers, *Search for St. Truth,* p. 164.

82. Fowler, *Piers the Plowman: Literary Relations,* pp. 163–64, similarly views the Dreamer's entry into Unity as a positive act.

83. Frank, *Piers Plowman and the Scheme of Salvation,* p. 117. Also see Dunning, "The Structure of the B-Text of *Piers Plowman,*" *Review of En-*

glish Studies 7 (1956): 237; and Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-century Apocalypse*, p. 148. Nolan also sees the conclusion in Joachimist terms. She suggests that the Piers whom Conscience seeks will appear in "new garb, perhaps that of the angelic king prophesied by Joachim of Fiore and anticipated by Dante" (p. 258). As noted in chapter 2, page 61, however, Joachim did not prophesy a political savior for society. This understanding of Piers as a human savior, either a political or a religious leader, apparently influenced Kane and Donaldson in their editing of the B text. What Skeat (B. 19:439) reads as "And god amende þe pope . . . ," they read as "And [Piers] amende þe pope . . ." (19:442). According to Fowler, however, "all B manuscripts and the C text of course support Skeat's reading." See Fowler, "A New Edition of the B text of *Piers Plowman*," *Yearbook of English Studies* 7 (1977): 38. Kane and Donaldson argue that here Piers is emperor of the world, although they admit that their reading "is arbitrary" (p. 208); unfortunately, it is also a very misleading reading.

84. Elizabeth Kirk notes that although the poem does not end with the Second Advent, "it is the inevitable outcome of the remorseless process he sees occurring around him. . . ." *Dream Thought of Piers Plowman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 185. Robert Adams agrees: "Langland qualifies as one especially preoccupied with a vision of Judgment." "The Nature of Need," *Traditio* 34 (1978): 301.

Conclusion

1. Bennett, *The Evolution of "The Faerie Queene"* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 114.

2. Edmund Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I.7.16, vol. 1 of *The Works of Edmund Spenser, A Variorum Edition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1932). *The Variorum Edition* of the *Minor Poems* includes some sonnets on Apocalypse 13, 17, 19, and 21, possibly by Spenser, from Van der Noodt's *A Theatre for Worldlings* (1569). On Duessa, see D. Douglas Waters, *Duessa as Theological Satire* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1970).

3. William Tyndale, *Obedience of a Christen Man*, ed. Henry Walter, *Doctrinal Treatises*, Parker Society, 43 (1849), p. 191. See also John Bale, *The Image of Both Churches, being an Exposition of the Most Wonderful Book of Revelation*, ed. Henry Christmas, *Select Works of John Bale*, Parker Soci-

ety, 1 (1849), p. 497. Bale identifies the beast on which the whore sits as "the beastly body of the devil, comprehending in him popes, patriarchs, cardinals, legates, bishops, doctors, abbots, priors, priests, and pardoners, monks, canons, friars, nuns, and so forth . . ." (p. 496).

4. All references to the Geneva Bible are from the third folio (Edinburgh, 1579). For the whore of Babylon, see the gloss on Revelation 17:3–4. See also Nicholas Ridley, *A Piteous Lamentation of the Miserable Estate of the Church in England,* ed. Henry Christmas, *Works of Nicholas Ridley,* Parker Society, 40 (1841), p. 53; and David Chytraeus, *Explicatio Apocalypseos Iohannis apostoli* (Geneva, 1564), pp. 309–24.

5. Andrew Willet, *Sacorum emblematum, STC* 25,695 (Cambridge, 1591), emblem no. 22, sig. D3-D3v. For the whore of Babylon portrayed with a papal crown, see also emblem no. 21 in *The Mirrour of Maiestie* (ca. 1618), facsimile ed. by Henry Green and James Croston for the Holbein Society (London, 1870), sig. G1. The author would like to thank Huston Diehl for bringing these emblems to his attention. See her forthcoming index of the Renaissance English emblem books to be published by The Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University.

6. Bale, *Image,* p. 563. See also *De Ecclesia Dei ab Antichristo per eius excidium liberanda, STC* 671 (London, 1590), p. 11. John Foxe's influential *Book of Martyrs,* of course, is the best example of the Protestant praise for the opponents of the papacy. On Bale, Foxe, and other early English Protestant historians who looked to the past to justify the Reformation, see Katharine R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530–1645,* Oxford Historical monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

7. On the "Angelic Pope" and other late medieval conceptions of the papal role in the reformation of the church, see Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study of Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), pp. 395–415. Dante is often cited as a precursor of the Reformation view of Antichrist because of the numerous indictments of the papacy in his works, but as Charles Davis has shown, "the poet never blurred the distinction between the office and its holder." See Davis, *Dante and the Idea of Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), p. 219. Bernard McGinn perceptively notes that the "apocalyptic image of the papacy" even into the late Middle Ages and the continued hope for reformation within the church even in the face of papal opposition reflect "an act of faith in the ultimate religious value of the papacy." See "Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist," *Church History* 47 (1978): 173.

8. Hans Preuss, *Die Vorstellungen vom Antichrist* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906), p. 177. John M. Headley, *Luther's View of Church History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), states that Luther rejects the view that Antichrist is "some aspect of a corrupt Roman Church. Rather than associating it with any person or pope he squarely identifies it with the entire institution of men and succession of those ruling the Papacy" (p. 198). See also Ulrich Asendorf, *Eschatologie bei Luther* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), pp. 173–87.

9. Bale, *Image,* p. 325; John Foxe, *Meditationes in Apocalypsin* (Geneva, 1596), pp. 197–99.

10. Thomas Becon, *Acts of Christ and of Antichrist,* ed. John Ayre, *Prayers and Other Pieces of Thomas Becon,* Parker Society, 4 (1844), p. 539. In his *Explicatio Apocalypseos,* David Chytraeus lists twelve major distinctions between scripture and papal teaching (pp. 183–90).

11. Bale, *Image,* p. 442. Luther distinguished between the true, hidden church and the false, institutional church. See Headley, *Luther's View of Church History,* p. 223. William Tyndale makes the same distinction between the spiritual and the fleshly church in his *Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue,* ed. Henry Walter, Parker Society, 45 (1850), p. 107.

12. See Bale, *Image,* p. 554; the Geneva Bible gloss on Apoc. 20; John Napier, *A Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of Saint John* (Edinburgh, 1593), pp. 62–63. For Foxe, see V. Norskov Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 71–73. These interpretations of the millennium are typical of sixteenth-century exegesis. Joseph Mede's explanation of the millennium as taking place in the future becomes more influential in the seventeenth century; see his *Key of the Revelation,* trans. Richard More (London, 1650), 2:122–25. On English millenarianism, see Bryan W. Ball, *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660,* Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 12 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), pp. 157–92. Bernard Capp, "Godly Rule and English Millenarianism," *Past and Present* 52 (Aug. 1971): 106–17, argues against the commonly accepted view that Foxe and other early English reformers were millenarians; and Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain,* describes how during the early seventeenth century Protestant apocalypticism became increasingly millenarian (pp. 204–41).

13. Napier, *Plaine Discovery,* pp. 64–68, 145–49. For the day-year principle, see pp. 1–2. For the wounding of the head, see Bale, *Image,* p. 426.

14. Napier, *Plaine Discovery,* pp. 2–22. On the numerous English interpretations of the time prophecies, see Ball, *Great Expectation,* pp. 15–23, 89–125.

15. Thomas Malvenda, *De Antichristo* (Rome, 1604). On Luther see pp. 71–73, 401.

16. *Here Begynneth the Byrthe and Lyfe of Antechryst, STC* 670 (Wynkyn de Worde, ca. 1528). The block book illustrated *vitae* of Antichrist usually include the Fifteen Signs (see chapter 4). For the Protestant interpretation of the signs of the end, see Ball, *Great Expectation,* pp. 89–125.

17. William Fulke, *Discovery of the Dangerous Rock,* ed. Richard Gibbings, *Fulke's Answers to Stapleton, Martiall, and Sanders,* Parker Society, 18 (1848), p. 368. On Sanders' ten arguments, see pp. 366–71. See also Foxe, *Meditationes,* pp. 197–205, 378–418, and John Jewel, *Exposition Upon the Two Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians,* ed. John Ayre, *The Works of John Jewel,* Parker Society, 24 (1847), pp. 908–24.

18. See Malvenda, *De Antichristo,* pp. 7–13; and *Byrthe and Lyfe of Antechryst,* which portrays Antichrist as a man to appear in the future.

19. Martin Luther, *Ad Librum Ambrosii Catharini . . . Cum exposita visione Danielis viii. De. Antichristo,* 7, *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar, 1897), p. 770. Tyndale, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon,* ed. Henry Walter, *Doctrinal Treatises,* Parker Society, 43 (1848), p. 124. Thomas Cranmer, *A Confutation of Unwritten Verities,* ed. John Edmund Cox, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters,* Parker Society, 16 (1836), p. 63, also refers to Antiochus as a figure of Antichrist. On Nero, see Bale, *Image,* p. 445.

20. Bale, *Image,* pp. 426, 436.

21. For the two horns as symbolizing the pope and Mohammedanism, see Cranmer, *Confutation,* p. 62; Chytraeus, *Explicatio Apocalypseos,* p. 21; Ball, *Great Expectation,* pp. 141–46. For Foxe, see *Meditationes,* pp. 197–99. *De Ecclesia Dei,* p. 23, identifies the two horns as the Franciscans and Dominicans. For the seven-headed beast, see Napier, *Plaine Discovery,* pp. 36–41, 161–70, in which the wounding of the head represents the attacks of the Huns, Goths, and Vandals upon the Roman Empire (p. 167). See also the Geneva Bible on Apoc. 13:1; James I, *A Paraphrase Upon the Revelation, Workes of King James, STC* 14,344 (London, 1616), pp. 39–41; Foxe, *Meditationes,* pp. 360–77; Mede, *Key of the Revelation,* 2: 48–50.

22. Napier, *Plaine Discovery,* pp. 59–60. On the distinction between the open and hidden enemies of the church, see the Geneva Bible gloss on Apoc. 20:8; James I, *A Fruitfull Meditation Containing a Plaine and*

Easie Exposition . . . of the 20. Chapter of the Revelation, in *Workes,* p. 75. On Luther's concern with the Turks, see also Headley, *Luther's View of Church History,* pp. 244–49. For the Catholic view of Gog and Magog, see Malvenda, *De Antichristo,* pp. 285–99, 493–99.

23. See throughout the Geneva Bible gloss; Napier, *Plaine Discovery,* pp. 41–49; *De Ecclesia Dei,* pp. 10–28; and Jewel, *Exposition,* pp. 915–16. Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England,* pp. 9–25, surveys these Protestant identifications. Carol Z. Wiener, "The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism," *Past and Present* 51 (May 1971): 30–31, describes the negative effects of the English conception of the pope as an "arch-villain."

24. On the medieval interpretations of 666, see chapter 2, pp. 40–41. Also see Malvenda, *De Antichristo,* pp. 433–37.

25. See Ball, *Great Expectation,* p. 135. See also the Geneva Bible gloss on Apoc. 13:18; Bale, *Image,* p. 448; Napier, *Plaine Discovery,* pp. 49–54; Mede, *Key of the Revelation,* p. 74. Foxe, *Meditationes,* pp. 456–62, includes "Romanus" and "A Man of Rome" among Antichrist's names. Luther, *Ad librum Ambrosii Catharini,* 7, *Werke,* p. 741, argues that the papal claim to be the "Vicar of Christ" is Antichrist's title as explained by Paul (2 Thess. 2:4).

26. *Byrthe and Lyfe of Antechryst,* chapter 7, here with abbreviations expanded and punctuation provided. The discussion of the Last World Emperor refers to Methodius and includes Adso's expectation of a French king. Luther refers to the expectation of the Last World Emperor, identifying him with Frederick the Wise. See Headley, *Luther's View of Church History,* pp. 232–33.

27. Fulke, *Discovery of Dangerous Rock,* pp. 368–71. See also Jewel, *Exposition,* pp. 914–15; Chytraeus, *Explicatio Apocalypseos,* p. 274; Foxe, *Meditationes,* p. 150.

28. Geneva Bible gloss on Apoc. 13:18; Bale, *Image,* p. 449; *De Ecclesia Dei,* pp. 25–27; James, *Paraphrase Upon the Revelation,* p. 43. Later temporal interpretations of the 666 led to increased apocalyptic expectations surrounding the year 1666. See Ball, *Great Expectation,* p. 135.

29. Tyndale, *Parable of the Wicked Mammon,* p. 43.

30. The *Byrthe and Lyfe of Antechryst* is especially filled with details of Antichrist's life. See also the scholarly treatment in Malvenda, *De Antichristo:* on his origins and birth, pp. 80–106; on his reign, pp. 237–312; on his deceits and wickedness, pp. 313–47; on his false doctrine and miracles, pp. 347–95; on his persecution of the righteous, pp. 396–452.

31. Fulke, *Discovery of the Dangerous Rock*, p. 370. See also Foxe, *Meditationes*, pp. 378–83; and Jewel, *Exposition*, p. 914.

32. "Ecclesia Papae est Synagoga Satanae." Luther, *Ad librum Ambrosii Catharini*, 7, *Werke*, p. 712. Luther also states in his *Wider das Papsttum zu Rom, vom Teufel gestiffet*, 54, *Werke*, pp. 237–38: "Wo kompt das Papstum her? Ich sage noch wie vor: Es kompt vom Teufel, weil es nicht von der Kirchen, die Christus durch seinen heiligen Geist regiert, noch weltlicher öberkeit kompt."

33. For example, see Jewel, *Exposition*, pp. 916–18. Typical of Jewel's rhetoric is the following passage arguing the close relationship between the decline of the empire and the rise of papal temporal power: "In the mean while antichrist increased and grew to wealth by spoil of the empire. The bishop of Rome hath at this day many countries and lordships. Poor Peter had none. How then came he by them? By the spoil of the empire. He hath the title of Forum Julium. Where hath he it, but of the spoil of the empire? Where hath he so many countries, beginning at Luke and onward to the Alps, but by the spoil of the empire? He hath Ravenna, Forum Sempronii, Beneventum, and Spoletum. All these he hath by the spoil of the empire. He claimeth the kingdom of Naples, and of Sicily he is the lord paramount. King Philip is his vassal, and payeth him tribute. He hath Rome itself. It did belong unto the emperor. How grew it to the bishop? whence hath he it? by the spoil of the empire" (pp. 916–17).

34. Geneva Bible gloss on Apoc. 16:13. Commenting on the locusts of Apoc. 9:3, Luther states: "Hic est populus universitatum, e Philosophia natus. . . ." He especially condemns the universities for preferring Aristotle to Christ, *Ad librum Ambrosii Catharini*, 7, *Werke*, p. 737. Chytraeus, *Explicatio Apocalypseos*, identifies the evil spirits of Apoc. 16:13 as "Legati Pontificis Romani" (p. 21).

35. Cranmer, *Confutation*, p. 46, argues that the "miracle" of the real presence in the sacrament is the delusion of the devil, and notes that Antichrist is to work false miracles. For a similar argument, see Jewel, *Exposition*, p. 904. Waters, *Duessa as Theological Satire*, pp. 4–12, summarizes the Protestant condemnation of the mass and other Catholic doctrine as "spiritual witchcraft." On Protestant equation of belief in the saints with Antichrist's false miracles and doctrine, see Jewel, *Exposition*, p. 922; Chytraeus, *Explicatio Apocalypseos*, p. 267; Foxe, *Meditationes*, pp. 448–54. On papal ceremonies, see Tyndale, *Exposition of the First Epistle of Saint John*, ed. Henry Walter, *Expositions of Scripture and Practice of Prelates*, Parker Society, 44 (1849), pp. 196–97; Napier, *Plaine Discov-*

ery, commenting on Apoc. 13:13, pp. 170–71. In an interesting allusion to the medieval belief in Antichrist's miracle of the tree, Tyndale, *Obedience of a Christen Man,* p. 154, argues that the Catholic belief of judging scripture by tradition rather than tradition by scripture is in opposition to truth. He then concludes that "thus antichrist turneth the roots of the trees upward."

36. On papal claims to be infallible and the head of the church, see Luther, *Ad librum Ambrosii Catharini,* 7, *Werke,* pp. 741–42; Jewel, *Exposition,* pp. 905–906: "He shall take to himself that supreme authority and prerogative which appertaineth only to God by nature. Although he be but a man, yet in office he will be accounted as God. He shall compare his laws with the laws of God. He shall say his word is the word of God. . . . Such shall be the power and authority of antichrist; so shall he possess the consciences of the people; so shall he sit as an idol in their hearts; so shall he stand in the place of God, and 'shew himself that he is God.' " On papal persecutions, see Cranmer, *Confutation,* p. 62; Foxe, *Meditationes,* pp. 295–98; Mede, *Key of the Revelation,* 2:12–15.

37. On the Jews as Antichrist's supporters, see chapter 3, pp. 90–91. See also *Byrthe and Lyfe of Antechryst,* 13 and 15; Malvenda, *De Antichristo,* pp. 80–91, 304–12. Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England,* pp. 178–81, compares the role of the Jews in the medieval and Reformation interpretations.

38. Fulke, *Discovery of the Dangerous Rock,* p. 369. See also Foxe, *Meditationes,* pp. 199–205.

39. On the Catholic religious as supporters of Antichrist, see Bale, *Image,* pp. 352, 392; Jewel, *Exposition,* p. 910; Geneva Bible gloss on Apoc. 9:3–7. On Antichrist's political supporters, see Ridley, *Piteous Lamentation,* pp. 62–63, referring to England under Mary's rule. See also Paul Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), pp. 24–27.

40. On Enoch and Elias, see chapter 3, pp. 95–101. See also *Byrthe and Lyfe of Antechryst,* 18–20; Malvenda, *De Antichristo,* pp. 452–79.

41. Bale, *Image,* p. 387. Bale explains the Old Testament Enoch and Elias as types of Christ's ascension, an interpretation common in the medieval *Biblia pauperum* and other typologically arranged works.

42. Luther, *Kirchenpostille 1522,* 10.1.1, *Werke,* pp. 147–48; *Vorrede zu Commentarius in Apocalypsin,* 26, *Werke,* pp. 123–24. Fulke, *Discovery of the Dangerous Rock,* p. 370, argues that "the Scripture speaketh of no coming of Helias; but of Christ's two witnesses, which have never failed in

the greatest heat of the popish tyranny." The Geneva Bible gloss for Apoc. 11:3 describes the two witnesses as "all the preachers that shoulde buylde up Gods Church. . . ." See also James, *Paraphrase Upon the Revelation,* p. 32; Mede, *Key of the Revelation,* 2:7–12. Napier, *Plaine Discovery,* pp. 32–33, 148, interprets the two witnesses as the Old and New Testaments.

43. Foxe, *Meditationes,* pp. 247–98. Chytraeus, *Explicatio Apocalypseos,* notes that all pious doctors are the two witnesses (p. 20) and describes the "spirit" of Elias evident in Luther, the preaching of the gospel, and the attack on the papacy and monasticism (pp. 223–24). Sodom and Egypt symbolize Rome (p. 227). *De Ecclesia Dei* interprets the death of the witnesses as the martyrdom of Huss and Jerome of Prague; the resurrection of the witnesses represents the work of Luther and Zwingli. "Ille igitur in Luthero velut redivivus Elias . . ." (p. 14). This identification of the "spirit" of Elias in the work of the reformers was carried to an extreme by many self-proclaimed prophets who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries claimed to be the two witnesses. For example, Keith Thomas notes that in 1636 Richard Farnham and John Bull claimed in London to be Enoch and Elias. Before their deaths in 1642, they promised they would rise again. See *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1971), p. 135. Such identifications were especially common among the radical reformers. See George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), pp. 210, 263, 276–77, 357, 382, 791.

44. On Antichrist's death and the time following, see chapter 3, pp. 101–6. See also *Byrthe and Life of Antechryst,* 23–25; Malvenda, *De Antichristo,* pp. 499–539.

45. Tyndale, *Parable of the Wicked Mammon,* p. 42. Headley, *Luther's View of Church History,* states that in Luther's view "the Church could expect no relief or solution from any emperor or temporal ruler in this final temptation of the Antichrist. Only the Lord's return would destroy the *Endechrists Regiment*" (p. 263).

46. Foxe, *Meditationes,* pp. 195–97. Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England,* pp. 78–123, traces the increased radicalization of the Protestant identifications of Antichrist and the expectation that through political action he could be defeated.

47. Jewel, *Exposition,* p. 920.

48. Tyndale, *Obedience of a Christen Man,* p. 185. Tyndale also argues, "The scripture of God is good to teach and to improve. Paul speaking of Antichrist saith, 'Whom the Lord shall destroy with the spirit or breath

of his mouth;' that is, with the word of God." *Parable of the Wicked Mammon,* p. 41.

49. For Luther's interpretation of the signs of the end, see Headley, *Luther's View of History,* pp. 242–55. Protestants continued to believe in the conversion of the Jews. See Ball, *Great Expectation,* pp. 146–56.

50. See Kenneth A. Strand, *Woodcuts to the Apocalypse in Dürer's Time* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1968), illus. 27–28. For the Cologne Bible, see also James Strachan, *Pictures from a Mediaeval Bible* (London: Darwen Finlayson, 1959).

51. Henkel, *The Apocalypse,* p. 42. For Dürer's woodcuts, see Strand, *Woodcuts to the Apocalypse,* pp. 11–26.

52. Henkel publishes the entire Cranach cycle, pp. 82–92. For the illustrations of Apoc. 11, 13, 16, and 17, see *The Apocalypse,* pp. 87, 88, 90; and Strand, *Woodcuts to the Apocalypse,* illus. 43, 46, 49, 51.

53. For illustrations not portraying the papal crown in the "December Bible," see P. Schmidt, *Die Illustration der Lutherbibel, 1522–1700* (Basel: Verlag Friedrich Reinhardt, 1962), pp. 103–104, 108–11. For Luther's first complete Bible, see pp. 210, 211, 213–14. For Holbein's illustrations, see pp. 124–25. For later editions that drop the papal crown, see p. 262; and Henkel, *The Apocalypse,* p. 53 and fig. 32.

54. Duvet, *L'Apocalypse Figurée* (Lyon, 1561; facsimile ed., London: Eugrammia Press, 1962).

55. *Arte to Lyue Well,* STC 792, 793. *Byrthe and Lyfe of Antechryst,* STC 670. See Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts: 1480–1535* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), cat. no. 426, 755–72, 790, 905.

56. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493). On the sixth age, see fol. xcv; on Antichrist, see fol. cclxiii; for the woodcut portraying Antichrist, see fol. cclxii verso. See also Adrian Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle* (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1976), plate 10.

57. Luca Signorelli, "Fatti dell'Anticristo," in Enzo Carli, *Luca Signorelli: Gli Affreschi nel Duomo di Orvieto* (Bergamo: Instituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1946), illus. 8–21; and Enzo Carli, *Il Duomo di Orvieto* (Rome: Instituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1965), illus. 144–56. For the remainder of Signorelli's eschatological cycle, see illus. 157–211. See also Pietro Scarpellini, *Luca Signorelli,* Collana d'arte, 10 (Florence: G. Barbera Editore, 1964), pp. 40–52.

58. André Chastel, "L'Apocalypse en 1500: La fresque de l'Antéchrist à la Chapelle Saint-Brice d'Orvieto," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 14 (1952): 129, identifies the friars as follow-

ers of Antichrist, perhaps because Chastel argues that Antichrist in the fresco represents Savonarola, who had recently been executed in Florence. Chastel's argument, largely based on Marcilio Ficino's condemnation of Savonarola as Antichrist, is not convincing, for the fresco's iconography owes more to the Antichrist tradition than Chastel seems to allow. Leipold Dussler's identification of the group behind Antichrist as "ein 'Häuflein Getreuer Christi' " is more convincing. See Dussler, *Signorelli des Meisters Gemälde* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1927), p. xxxiv.

59. See Walter L. Strauss, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1550–1600: A Pictorial Catalogue* (New York: Abaris, 1975). For the "De Ortu et origine," vol. 1, illus. 4; for the pope as the bad thief and Antichrist, vol. 3, illus. 1; for the contrast between Lutheranism and Catholicism, vol. 2, illus. 9. This illustration portrays Luther, on the one hand, preaching with the scriptures open before him, and a fat monk, on the other hand, inspired by a devil. An explanation by Matthias Flacius Illyricus accompanies each scene; the text beneath Luther is titled "Summa der lehr Christi," whereas that beneath the monk is titled "Summa der lehr Antichristi."

60. Wilhelm Scherer, ed., *Passional Christi und Antichristi: Lucas Cranachs Holzschnitte mit dem Texte von Melanchthon,* Deutsche Drucke älterer Zeit in Nachbildungen, 3 (Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1885).

61. All references are to Barry B. Adams, ed., *John Bale's King Johan* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1969). See lines 673–78.

62. Sydney Anglo, ed., "An Early Tudor Programme for Plays and Other Demonstrations Against the Pope," *JWCI* 20 (1957): 179.

63. See Nathaniel Woodes, *Conflict of Conscience* (Oxford: Malone Society, 1952), I.1.87–88; Barnabe Barnes, *Devil's Charter,* ed. R. B. McKerrow (Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1904); and Helen Shaw, *Conrad Badius and the Comedie du Pape Malade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934), I.3.371–88. For English polemical drama, see Rainer Pineas, *Tudor and Early Stuart Anti-Catholic Drama,* Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica, 5 (Nieuwkoop, Luxembourg: D. de Graaf, 1972), pp. 5–24.

64. Charles H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: University Press, 1886), p. 124. Herford describes the influence of *Pammachius* on Bale's *King Johan* (pp. 129–38) and Foxe's, *Christus Triumphans* (pp. 138–48). For an edition of *Pammachius,* see Johannes Bolte and Erich Schmidt, eds.,

Thomas Naogeorgus, *Pammachius,* Lateinische Literaturdenkmäler des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts, 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1891). Bale's translation (ca. 1548) is not extant.

65. C. E. Plumptre, ed., *A Tragedie or Dialogue of the Unjust Usurped Primacie of the Bishop of Rome* (London: Grant Richards, 1899). The dialogues were translated by John Ponet in 1549. The first dialogue is between Lucifer and Beelzebub, who plot the takeover of the church. The second through the fifth dialogues involve the rise in papal power under Boniface III. The sixth and seventh dialogues move from hell to heaven, as Lucifer rejoices over the "birth of Antichrist," and Christ promises to destroy Antichrist.

66. Craig, *English Religious Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), pp. 370–71. Although many studies of Bale's *King Johan* emphasize "the legend of Antichrist," the play is not based on the medieval legend, but upon Protestant identifications of Antichrist with the papacy. For recent studies see Leslie P. Fairfield, *John Bale: Mythmaker for the English Reformation* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1976), p. 69; Ruth H. Blackburn, *Biblical Drama Under the Tudors* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), which describes *King Johan* as "another Antichrist play . . ." (pp. 46–47); Thora Balslev Blatt, *The Plays of John Bale: A Study of Ideas, Technique and Style* (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1968), pp. 35, 164–65; and Klaus Sperk, *Mittelalterliche Tradition und reformatorische Polemik in den Spielen John Bales* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1973), which unconvincingly compares Antichrist in *King Johan* to Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo* (pp. 118–19).

67. Edited in *Segunda parte de las obras completas de Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza,* ed. Alva Ebersole (Garden City, N.Y.: Estudios de Hispanófila, 1966), pp. 203–36; and *Obras de Lope de Vega,* ed. Marcelino Menendez Pelayo, vol. 8.2 (Madrid: Atlas, 1963), pp. 425–56. A study of these plays is beyond the scope of this book; however, they both deserve to be examined in the light of the medieval Antichrist tradition.

68. Louis Gros, ed. *Étude sur le Mystère de l'Antéchrist et du Jugement de Dieu: Joué à Modane en 1580 et en 1606* (Chambéry: Imprimeries Réunies, 1962). Gros includes a long summary of the play, contemporary staging directions, and a fragment of the first day's text. Jacques Chocheyras, *Le Théatre religieux en Savoie au xvie siècle; avec des fragments inédits,* Publications romans et françaises, 115 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1971), pp. 181–254, publishes other fragments not included in Gros.

69. Contrary to Herford's opinion that the play is "crowded with un-

necessary figures, confused in structure, unimaginative in conception, and alternately undignified and pedantic in style . . ." (*Literary Relations,* p. 143), *Christus Triumphans* is an important work, drawing as it does on so much from the riches of earlier apocalyptic thought and writing. For an edition, see John Hazel Smith, *Two Latin Comedies by John Foxe the Martyrologist,* Renaissance Text Series, 4 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973), pp. 202–371. Smith's translation is quoted here but the citations are from the Latin text. See also Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church,* pp. 59–66.

70. Smith notes (p. 339, note 2) that the draft version of the play at V.1.33–34 refers to "Pornapolis, whom they call Catholic."

71. Smith's note (p. 307, note 2) that "Satan is thus *freed* after the end of the ten persecutions . . ." is misleading, for it suggests that the play shows Satan's (and therefore Antichrist's) rise to power ca. 300. In fact, the text makes it clear that a long time passes between the end of the persecutions and Satan's release at the end of the millennium, ca. 1000. The entire third scene of the fourth act is taken up by Ecclesia's speech, which surveys the time from the banishment of Dioctes (ca. 300) to the appearance of Satan (ca. 1000).

72. See Smith, p. 345, note 2. Smith's suggestion that because "there are only two men in Bocardo in Foxe's play" (p. 32), *Christus Triumphans* was written between the martyrdoms of Latimer and Ridley (Oct. 16, 1555) and that of Cranmer (Mar. 21, 1556) ignores the possibility that Foxe chose two men in order to allude to the Protestant interpretation of the two witnesses.

73. For the suppression of the Chester plays, see Harold C. Gardiner, *Mysteries' End: An Investigation of the Last Days of the Medieval Religious Stage,* Yale Studies in English, 103 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946), pp. 79–83.

74. *The Trial and Flagellation with Other Studies in the Chester Cycle,* ed. W. W. Greg (Malone Society Studies, 1935), p. 158, here with expanded abbreviations.

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